

GWIR YN ERBYN Y BYD.

THE
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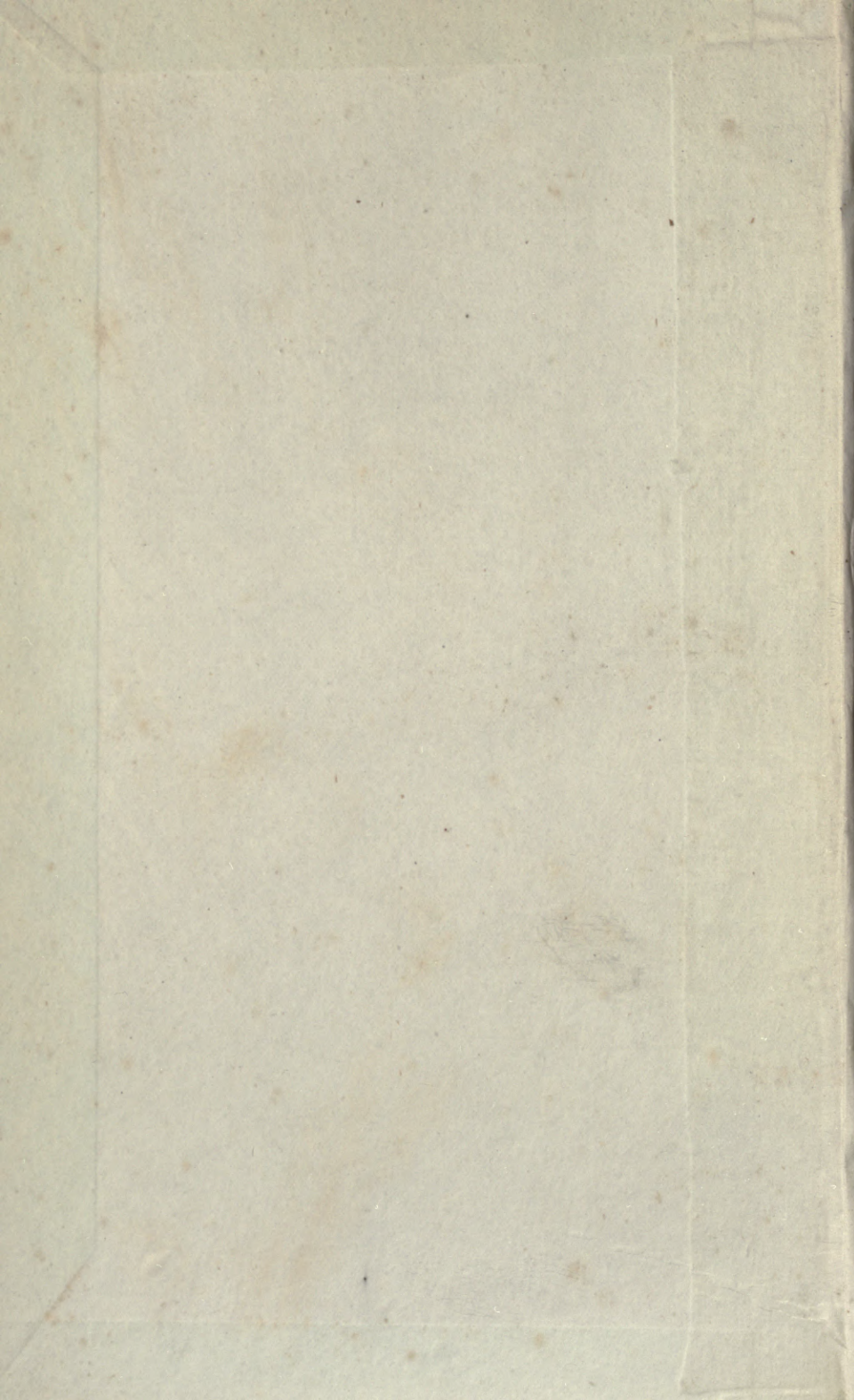
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Y WLAD A'I MACCO.

VOLUME FOR 1861.

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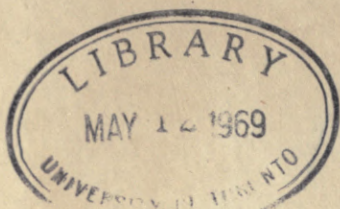
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P R E F A C E.

IN reviewing the events of the past year, our first thoughts naturally run to our widowed Queen. In reference to the irreparable loss which she has sustained in the death of a good and loving husband, we feel that we cannot better express our condolence and wishes than in the touching words of the poet:—

“ May all love,
His love, unseen but felt, o’ershadow thee,
The love of all thy sons encompass thee,
The love of all thy daughters cherish thee,
The love of all thy people comfort thee,
Till God’s love set thee at his side again.”

It is not only from a spirit of devoted loyalty that we participate in the national sympathy, but also from our connection with the CAMBRIAN INSTITUTE, over which Her Majesty’s eldest son—“our own Prince”—graciously presides. May God direct him to walk in the footsteps of his father.

Under such distinguished patronage the INSTITUTE cannot but succeed; and we are happy to say that we continually receive proofs of its influence and power, not only in our own country, but also on the continent of Europe.

A fact, perhaps unparalleled in the modern annals of

Wales is, that another illustrious Prince—a member of the imperial family of France—should not only lend the aid of his powerful name to the INSTITUTE, but actually contribute to the pages of its organ, the CAMBRIAN JOURNAL.

There have been two Eisteddvodau on a large scale held in the course of the year—one at Conway, and the other at Aberdare; and though much of what is foreign to the true character of an Eisteddvod was introduced at both of them, and especially at that of Aberdare, still we trust that the national cause was helped forward, even by what was apparently intended to retard its progress. It is quite a mistake to suppose that the modernization of meetings of this kind renders them more popular with strangers. We need only mention, as contradictory of the notion, the testimony of the celebrated French historian, M. Henri Martin, who has paid much attention to our language and Bardism. On the occasion of his visit to the Aberdare Eisteddvod, he expressed his regret and disappointment at not finding the Bards dressed in the ancient costume, but in the funereal and vulgar habit of the present day.

Every bane has its antidote, and every extreme measure is sure to produce a reaction. It is even so with regard to the efforts now made by a certain party to innovate our ancient institutions; they have given rise to an association within the province of Powys, which, founded as it is on thoroughly patriotic principles, promises to be a very effectual instrument in concentrating the national aspirations of the country, and in opposing all inroad upon our venerable usages.

The Welsh MSS. Society has not been inactive. In the course of the year *The Meddygon Myddvai*, or the medical practice of the celebrated Rhiwallon and his sons, of Myddvai, Physicians to Rhys Gryg, Lord of Dynevor and Ystrad Towy, about the middle of the thirteenth century, has been published under its auspices. Another volume, the first, on *Bardism*, being a collection of original documents, illustrative of the theology, wisdom, and usages of the Bardic system of the Isle of Britain, is on the point of issuing from the press; to be followed, at intervals of six months respectively, by two more.

Our thanks are due to those friends who have by their interesting contributions assisted us in making the present volume of the CAMBRIAN JOURNAL acceptable to our readers. We trust that they will continue their support during the ensuing year.

“Nid ymgais heb lwydd;
Nid llwydd ond o ddaioni.”

The Welsh MSS. Society has not been inactive in the course of the year. The Magazine, Abstract, or the medical practice of the celebrated Hildesheim and his sons, of Myddvale, Physicians to His High Lord of Devon and Yarmouth Town, about the middle of the thirteenth century, has been published under its auspices. Another volume, the first on Bardic, being a collection of original documents, illustrative of the history, wisdom, and usages of the Bardic system of the late of Britain, is on the point of issuing from the press; to be followed, at intervals of six months respectively, by two more.

Our thanks are due to those friends who have by their interesting contributions assisted us in making the present volume of the *Cymmrae* Journal acceptable to our readers. We trust that they will continue their support during the ensuing year.

"Nid ydych chi feddwl;
Nid bydd ond o ddolod."

THE
CAMBRIAN JOURNAL.

ALBAN



EILIR.

(VERNAL EQUINOX.)

ON THE HISTORY OF THE BATTLE OF CATTRAETH,
AND "THE GODODIN" OF ANEURIN.

By D. W. NASH, F.L.S.

THE most considerable and perhaps the most valuable poetic composition in the old British language, is that entitled "The Gododin," the authorship of which is universally ascribed to Aneurin, the son of Caw. The subject matter, and the date of the events referred to in this poem, have been variously considered by different writers. The Rev. Edward Davies held the poem to be descriptive of the traditionary massacre of the British chiefs at Stonehenge, by the contrivance of Vortigern and Hengist, at a feast to which they had been treacherously invited by the Saxon leaders. This opinion was supported, with no little ability, by Mr. Herbert, in his various works on ancient British history. A better acquaintance with the contents of the poem has, however, demonstrated the fallacy of these views, and it is now universally agreed that "The Gododin" describes a battle fought between

British tribes on the one side, and the Saxon or Anglian occupiers of Deira and Bernicia, with their allies, on the other, at a place called Caltraeth, or Cattraeth,—a battle which ended most disastrously for the British cause, whose chiefs to a great number, usually stated at 360, or 363, perished in the conflict. It is also agreed that a great festival held by the British warriors immediately preceding and even during the battle, mainly contributed to produce the disorder and confusion to which the calamitous result of the combat was chiefly to be attributed. It was quite conclusive against the Stonehenge theory that the battle described in "The Gododin" was fought at Cattraeth, and that Cattraeth was, as evidenced by the etymology of the word, and by the tenor of the poem, a locality in the immediate neighbourhood of the sea, or of a tidal river, or of a river which had overflowed its banks, neither of which qualifications would in any way be suitable to Stonehenge. But the later commentators on this poem, though agreeing that the locality of the battle of Cattraeth is somewhere in the north of Britain, are by no means agreed as to its precise position. M. de la Villemarqué, to whom we are indebted for the first reasonable translation of the poem, adopts the reading "Kaltraeth," settles the locality towards the western extremity of the wall of Antoninus, not far from the ancient British city, Alcluith, the modern Dumbarton, and at a spot where the waters of the river Calder, falling into the Clyde, inundated the neighbouring plain. According to M. de la Villemarqué, therefore, Kaltraeth is Kaltr-traeth, or, the strand or marsh of the river Calder. The fort itself in and around which the battle was fought, was, in his opinion, one of the many fortresses or intrenched camps placed by the Roman engineers along the line of the Antoninus wall. Mr. Beale Poste, who, in his *Britannia Antiqua*, has attempted a critical analysis of the whole poem, speaks with great confidence as to the locality of this battle, "having such decided internal evidence to the point in the poem." He also adopts the reading, Kaltraeth, but on entirely different grounds from those taken

by M. de la Villemarqué. "Kaltraeth," says Mr. Beale Poste, "must necessarily be considered to have been either at one end or the other of the wall of Antoninus; for Kaltraeth is Gwal-traeth, *i. e.*, the 'wall strand,' or 'shore at the end of the wall;' which, the concurrent circumstances of the epic being considered, no sophistry can deny with any show of plausibility. It must necessarily be the eastern or western end of the wall; and we know it cannot be the western extremity, because the Strathclyde and Brigantine kingdoms were conquered in detail, in the fifth and sixth centuries, from east to west. It was therefore necessarily at the eastern extremity." The wall of Antoninus "ended at its eastern extremity at a place known as Coreddin, and anciently Eidin, as appears by stanzas 17 and 18 of the poem. This place, we may conclude, being now called Coreddin, was named very similarly in early times, Coreddin, or Coreiddin, to distinguish it from the other Eiddin, or Eidin (Edinburgh), only about fifteen miles distant; and here, there is no doubt, was the Kaltraeth of the poem where the battle of Gododin was fought."

Notwithstanding the very positive character of this statement, it is difficult to acquiesce in the opinion that, in any British dialect, Gwal-traeth can have been converted into Caltraeth, or Cattraeth, precisely in the inverse order of the mutations which really take place in the Celtic tongues. Be this as it may, M. de la Villemarqué and Mr. Beale Poste agree that the battle described in "The Gododin" was fought at or near the wall of Antoninus, though the one places it at the eastern, the other at the western, extremity of that rampart.

There is, however, another opinion as to the locality of Cattraeth, which emanates from a source deserving the most attentive consideration. The latest, and certainly the most critical, translation of "The Gododin," has altogether repudiated the wall of Antoninus, and fixed the position of Cattraeth on the ancient dyke or rampart called the "Catrail." This is a vast ditch, at least twenty-six feet broad, with a rampart eight or ten feet

high on each side of it, formed of the earth thrown out of the ditch, and running from Peel Fell, on the borders of Northumberland, through Roxburghshire and Selkirkshire to near Galashiels, and most probably must have been continued northwards to the shores of the Forth. The distance to which it can now be traced is about forty-five miles. "After the Saxons had finally established themselves on the eastern coast," says the Rev. John Williams ab Ithel in the introduction to his translation of "The Gododin," "an immense rampart, extending nearly from the Solway to the Frith of Forth, was erected, either with the view of checking their further progress westward, or else by mutual consent of the two nations, as a mere line of demarcation between their respective dominions. This wall cannot have an earlier date, for it runs through the middle of the country originally occupied by the Gadeni, and could not, of course, have been constructed as a boundary by them; nor can it be referred to a more recent period, as there could be no reason for forming such a fence after the Saxons had intruded upon the whole country which it divides. This was the famous CATRAIL, which we presume to be identical with CATTRAETH, where the disastrous battle of that name, as sung by Aneurin, was fought."

"*Catrail* means literally 'the war fence' (cad-rhail), but on the supposition that it is synonymous with Cattraeth, the rhyme in 'The Gododin' would determine the latter to be the correct form, or that by which Aneurin distinguished the line. The meaning of Cattraeth would be either 'the war tract' (cad-traeth), or 'the legal war fence' (cad-rhaith), the latter of which would give some countenance to the idea that it was formed by mutual agreement."

To this theory, however, we must object, that the name of this famous boundary dyke has been preserved to modern times as the *Catrail*, which we believe to be cad-rhyll—the war-ditch, and that it seems impossible to believe that Aneurin and succeeding British Bards should have given it the name of Cattraeth, without once men-

tioning its original appellation. In the next place, we cannot agree in the view that this dyke could ever have borne the name Cad-rhaith, or that the term Cadrhaith can mean "the legal war-fence," or any other fence whatsoever. According to the lexicographers, and from the etymology of the word, Cadrhaith means, not a fence, but "the law of war," or "military discipline." On the whole, we must conclude that Cattraeth means what it has always been supposed to mean, the "battle strand," the "place of battle overflowed, or liable to be overflowed by the sea, or the waters of a river." It would seem also from the tenor of the poem, and from the traditions preserved relating to Cattraeth, that the battle was fought in and in front of a fortress, or intrenched camp, furnished with towers, or with covered buildings of stone, and not merely along the line of a simple ditch and earthworks such as the Catrail.

It would at first sight appear to be a matter of no great difficulty to ascertain the date of this important event in early British history, as no less than ninety of the chief warriors engaged are mentioned by name in the poem, and of these many are apparently to be recognised as historical personages.

"It is not so easy to determine the exact year when these events happened. Neither Arthur nor Urien are mentioned as being present; and though the stanzas containing their names may have been lost, it must be admitted that, in the case of such distinguished warriors, reason will not warrant the supposition; the fair inference would be that they were dead at the time. The death of Arthur is placed in the year 542; Owain, who died at Cattraeth, slew Ida A.D. 560; and Urien is said to have been assassinated about 567; the battle under consideration must have happened subsequently, probably about the year usually assigned it, viz., 570. This was in the reign of Rhun, a descendant in the fourth degree of Cunedda Wledig, King of Gododin."

The date here fixed upon by Mr. Williams is the same as that adopted by Mr. Beale Poste. M. de la Ville-

marqué, influenced by similar considerations, places the battle of Cattræth between the years 572 and 580, and prefers the year 578 as the approximative date.

This conclusion, however, rests on certain assumptions which cannot be passed over without some question. In the first place, we must inquire, Does Aneurin represent that Owen, the son of Urien Rheged, was present at the battle of Cattræth? This is assumed as a matter on which there is no doubt by Messrs. Beale Poste and Villemarqué; but though it forms the basis of Mr. Williams's reasoning as to the date of the battle, the large acquaintance of the latter writer with the native British literature has made him treat the matter very cautiously in his note to the first stanza of the poem. That stanza contains the statement, by no means uncommon, that the body of the Owain therein mentioned was devoured by ravens. "The manner in which the person here commemorated is associated with the ravens," says Mr. Williams, "*leads us to suspect* that he was none other than Owain ab Urien, who is traditionally reported to have had an army of ravens in his service."

When, however, we have to discuss the question, What is the internal evidence afforded by "The Gododin" of its date and subject? we require something more than suspicion in the identification of the parties mentioned in the poem. There occurs at once the fact that the renowned warrior, whose feats of arms were celebrated in poetry and romance, and whose name was in the mouth of every British bard, and familiar to every audience, is not mentioned in "The Gododin" by the name by which he is always mentioned elsewhere—Owain ab Urien, or Owain ab Urien Rheged. On the contrary, "The Gododin" expressly describes the Owen there mentioned as the son of Marro, or Marco—a name unheard of as applied to the son of Urien. Mr. Williams has fairly stated this insurmountable difficulty; and we cannot accept the easy mode in which Mr. Beale Poste gets over the difficulty, by converting Marro, or Marco, into Meirchion, and treating this as the tribe name of Owain

ab Urien. It is sufficient to observe that, in all the songs attributed to Taliesin, dedicated to or in praise of Urien, such an appellation is not to be found. Another observation on this point is, that the Elegy on the death of Owain ab Urien makes no mention of his having fallen at the battle of Cattraeth, a circumstance which it is natural to suppose would not have been omitted. On the whole, there is no evidence in "The Gododin" to show that the Owain of that poem was Owain the son of Urien Rheged. Neither is there any evidence to connect the Caradawg, whose exploits are honourably mentioned in "The Gododin," with Caradawg Vreichvras, the "Colovn Cymru," one of the battle knights of Britain, and a celebrated hero of the Round Table. The same observation applies to other chieftains mentioned in "The Gododin." There is, however, one personage to whom we are able, with every appearance of certainty, to ascribe a fixed historical and chronological standing-point. There seems no reason to doubt that the Dyvnwal Vrych named in "The Gododin" is the same as Donald Brec, Dovenaldus Varius, who is also known to us from the statements of the Irish and Scottish chroniclers. The notice of this chief given in the "Scoti-Chronicon" of John of Fordun, contains three distinct points, all of which receive corroboration from the poem of Aneurin: 1. That he was the son of Eochus, "filius Eochi;" 2. That he was slain at the battle of Calatras; 3. That he was slain by Owen, King of the Britons. The first point seems to me to be found in the 23rd stanza of "The Gododin," where we have mention of the son of Hoewgi, "filius Heochi." Mr. Williams gives the personage here mentioned the name of "Graid;" but the lines may be differently rendered; thus:—

"He reduced men to ashes,
And made women widows,
The fierce son of Hoewgi;
And with his spear
He made blood to flow."

The other two points in connection with this name are

clearly inferred from the poem itself. The difficulty connected with the various dates assigned to the death of Donald Brec will be commented on hereafter.

It is remarkable that no one of the writers who have treated of this battle of Cattraeth has adverted to the possibility of some notice of an event so important to the great struggle between the Northern British and their Anglian invaders having been preserved in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicles.

These Chronicles are, it is true, so meagre in their details of events which they do notice, and omit so many transactions of historical importance for the fifth, sixth and seventh centuries, that the want of any notice of the battle of Cattraeth need excite no surprise, and cast no suspicion on the truth of the events referred to. I propose, however, to lay before the readers of the *Cambrian Journal* some grounds for believing that this important event has not been altogether passed over in silence by the Saxon Chroniclers, but that the latter have recorded the occurrence of this great battle, the subject of the celebrated poem of Aneurin, under the name, as it is rendered in the Latin of the Chronicles, of "Strages Gai Campi," and that it was fought about A.D. 654, between Oswy, son of Ethelfrid, King of the Northumbrians on the one side, and Penda, King of Mercia, associated with a number of British princes as his allies, on the other.

As this view of the date and character of the battle which forms the subject of "The Gododin" is altogether novel, and opposed to the deliberate views of the most eminent British scholars who have treated of the same subject, it is presented with great diffidence, and in the hope that it will be received as a purely literary question, to be examined and judged by the evidence to be adduced in its favour, and not as an insidious and treasonable effort to sap the foundations of Welsh antiquity.

In the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, under date an. 654, we find,—

"This year King Oswy slew King Penda at Winwidfield, and thirty men of royal race with him, and some of them were kings,

among whom was Æthelhere, brother of Anna, King of the East Angles."

This brief notice, standing alone, affords little information; but it assumes considerable importance when examined by the light of other records of the same transaction. The Saxon chronicler has cared only to mention particularly the Saxon, or more properly the Anglian chiefs who fell in the battle recorded; but the authorities employed by the British author who compiled the genealogies added to our edition of Nennius have been more full in their details of the transaction in question.

Before examining these latter records, it will be well to recall the state of affairs in Britain at the commencement of the seventh century. At this period Penda, King of Mercia, occupied a very prominent position, and one of the greater interest in consequence of his long alliance with the contemporary British princes, in conjunction with whom he carried on a series of sanguinary and successful enterprises against the other Saxon states of Britain. "The career of this prince presents," says Laffenberg, "a striking and almost inexplicable phenomenon. Ruler of a territory surrounded more than any other by a numerous hostile British population; a state formed in the middle of the country, of immigrants and aftercomers, who found the maritime parts already occupied,—the last unshaken and powerful adherent of paganism among the Anglo-Saxons,—this prince, in alliance with, if not in the pay of, a British Christian king, had, during his reign of thirty years, first assailed the Bretwalda of Northumbria, and afterwards repeatedly the other states of his countrymen, with great success, and still greater cruelty; yet, notwithstanding the destruction of five kings, without securing to himself any lasting result."

The contemporary of this fierce and warlike heathen, "vir strenuissimus," was Cadwallon (otherwise Catgulbaun), son of Cadfan, the fourth in descent from Maelgwn Gwynedd, the most powerful of the British princes of North Wales, and probably also of the districts lying on the western coasts of England north of Chester. De-

feated in the early part of his reign by Edwin, King of Northumbria, Cadwallon fled to Ireland, where he remained seven years. On his return from Ireland he entered into a close alliance with the Mercian Penda, to whom he was not inferior either in warlike qualities, or in the savage vigour with which he waged an exterminating war against the natural enemies of his race and country. According to Bede, Cadwallon ravaged Northumbria with the greatest ferocity, "being, though a Christian, a more savage barbarian than the heathen Penda." In 632 the allied British and Mercian forces totally defeated, and almost destroyed, the army of the Northumbrian Edwin, who, with his son Osfrith, was slain upon the field of battle. In the following year the career of Cadwallon was brought to a close at the battle of Catscaul, called by Bede the battle of Denisburn, in which he was defeated and slain by Oswald, the successor of Edwin in the Northumbrian monarchy. "In Cadwallon expired the last renowned hero of the old British race; in fourteen pitched battles, and sixty encounters, he had revived and confirmed the military fame of his country, and acquired dominion over a considerable part of Loegria." The alliance of the British princes with the Mercian Penda, the implacable foe of the Northumbrian monarch, did not however cease with the death of Cadwallon. In 642 Oswald, the Christian King of the Northumbrians, was slain by Penda at Maserfeld, and succeeded by his brother Oswy. It would appear from the statement of Bede,¹ that Penda, at a later period, had overrun the southern provinces of the Northumbrian kingdom, and driven Oswy to great straits. The latter, it is said, "ad ultimum necessitate cogente," offered Penda an incredible amount of royal ornaments and gifts as the price of peace, and of his returning home and ceasing to devastate the Northumbrian provinces.

Upon Penda's refusal of his offers, Oswy met him in battle, A.D. 654, at a place stated by Bede to be "prope

¹ Bede Hist. Eccles. iii. 24.

Uniuæd fluvium," "in regione Loidis." Oswy obtained a most decisive victory, Penda being slain in the fight, and "thirty men of royal race with him, and some of them were kings, among whom were Ethelhere, brother of Anna, King of the East Angles."

The editors of the *Monumenta Historica Britannica*, in a note on these passages of Bede, have identified the river Winwed with the Broad Are, which flows past the modern town of Leeds, and therefore consider the battle to have taken place on the southern border of the North-humbrian kingdom, and near the territory of Penda the Mercian. This view cannot be reconciled with the account in Bede, that Penda had utterly ravaged the provinces of Oswy with an army of thirty divisions, or legions, while Oswy, driven to extremities, was compelled to meet him with very inferior forces, "perparvum habens exercitum, sed Christo duce confisus."

It would seem more probable that the battle should have taken place on the extreme north of the Bernician division of North-humbria, that is, the regions bordering on the Frith of Forth. Florence of Worcester, in speaking of this transaction, says that Penda, "perfidus rex Merciorum," with thirty legions, and an equal number of most noble chiefs, entered Bernicia for the purpose of attacking Oswy.

Winwedfield, the locality named as that of the battle by the writers after Bede, cannot be identified; but we find that the scene of this famous event, which resulted in the Christianizing of the whole Mercian people, was known by another name.

In the genealogical notices added to some copies of Nennius, we have a remarkable passage relating to this battle.

"Oswald, son of Ethelfrid, reigned nine years; he slew Catgublaun (Cadwallon) King of Guenedot, in the battle of Catscaul, with much loss to his own army. Oswy, son of Ethelfrid, reigned twenty-eight years and six months. He slew Pantha 'in Campo Gai;' and now took place the slaughter 'Gai Campi;' and the kings of the Britons were slain who had gone out with

King Pantha in an expedition as far as the city which is called Judeu."

In other copies, for "Gai Campi," we have "Giti Campi."

That the Strages Gai Campi is the same as the battle of Winwedfield, is clear; and the same title is given to it in the *Annales Cambriæ*; but what follows in Nennius has been strangely confused. It proceeds:—

"Then Osguid gave up all the riches which were with him in the city, 'usque in Manau,' to Penda, and Penda distributed them to the kings of the Britons; that is (called) Atbret Judeu. But Catgabail alone, king of the region of Guenedotia, escaped with his army, rising up in the night; wherefore he is called Catgabail Catguommed."

It is evident here that a passage has been misplaced. The surrender by Oswy to Penda of the riches which were with him in the city, and which was called "the ransom of the city of Judeu," must have preceded the battle in which Penda was killed. If we read these passages in connection with the historical statement in Bede, we find that, after the great overthrow of the North-humbrian power at the battle of Maserfeld, Penda and his British allies overran the kingdoms of Deira and Bernicia as far as the city Judeu, or Giudi, as it is called by Bede; that Oswy ransomed the city Judeu, by a payment to Penda, who distributed the ransom amongst his British allies; and that Oswy afterwards fell upon the allied army of Mercians and Britons, at a place called Gai-field, which Bede and the Saxon Chroniclers call Winwedfield.

Now, the story told in "The Gododin" is this: that a number of British chieftains from different localities, Strathelyde, Gododin, Aeron, and Gwynedd, under the command of a certain Mynyddawg Mwynfawr, (Mynyddawg the Courteous or Bountiful,) of whom nothing more is known, marched to a place called Cattræth, in number "363 chieftains wearing the golden torques," where an engagement took place between them and the united forces of Gododin, Deira, and Bernicia,—that is,

the North-humbrian Angles,—aided by allies from among the Scots north of the Antonine Wall.

In the first place, the identity of the name of the battle in Nennius and the *Annales Cambriæ*, with that in “The Gododin,” deserves consideration. Strages Gai Campi in the one, and Breithyell Gatraeth² in the other, if not identical, present a very remarkable resemblance. Cattraeth means the plain or strand at the Cae, or inclosure, Campus Cae, or Gai Campus. There are also a great number of coincidences in the events related, too numerous to admit of any other conclusion than that the poem and the history refer to the same event.

Throughout the poem the Britons are spoken of as men who served Mynyddawg, not as their natural sovereign in a national war, but for pay. Such at least is the interpretation I put on the numerous passages referring to the banquets given by the leader of the host to the warriors, as,—

“The retinue of Mynyddawg of the golden spear,
Their life was the price of their banquet of mead.”³

“The dependants of Mynyddawg deserved their horns of mead.”⁴

“Wine and mead and tribute (or contribution) they enjoyed.”⁵

It is unnecessary to enter into an examination of other passages to a similar effect, as the edition of Mr. Williams enables every reader to judge for himself in these matters. It is, however, very remarkable that, in the opinion of Mr. Williams, the 50th stanza of “The Gododin” “evidently contains a reproof to one of the British chiefs who turned coward on the field of battle at Cattraeth.” Is not this the event recorded in Nennius, where he says that “one British king only escaped the slaughter ‘Strages’ Gai Campi, fleeing in the night?”

I have already observed that the battle called Strages Gai Campi in Nennius, and that of Winwedfeld in Bede, are identified by the fact, that the combat in which

² Stanza 15, Williams’s Edition.

⁴ Stanza 35.

³ Stanza 31.

⁵ Stanza 60.

Penda, King of the Mercians, was slain, is the one referred to by each historian.

We are now to inquire what may be the connection between the Strages Gai Campi, or the battle of Winwedfeld, and the battle of Cattraeth.

With regard to the first, it seems very probable that Gai Campi is the rendering in monkish Latin of the word Cat-traeth, taken by the Saxon interpreter as Cai-traeth, the field or strand of Cai; and that Strages Gai Campi is the chronicler's rendering of Breithyell Cattraeth. But with respect to the name given by the Saxon historian Bede to the locality of the battle in which Penda was slain, the evidence of identity is far more forcible; for this appears to be merely a translation of the name by which it was known in the British tongue. For the Saxon Win-wad-feld is Battle-ford-field, and is equivalent to the British Cat-traeth—(field). An additional proof is afforded by the statement noticed by Mr. Williams (stanza 49, *note*) of his translation,—“Dywynwawl Vrych, or Donald Brec, who is said in the Scotch Chronicles to have been slain at the battle of Vraith Cairvin by Owain King of the Britons;” and compares the word Cairvin with Ban Carw, a place where Brych is said in that stanza to have been wounded. But the resemblance between Caer-vin and Win(wed)feld is very striking, and affords strong additional reason for the belief that the battle of Cattraeth and the battle of Winwedfeld are one and the same. We may not unreasonably connect the word Caer-vin with the plain of Uffin, on which Gwendoleu ab Ceidiaw was slain at the battle of Cattraeth.”

Two of the stanzas of “The Gododin” commence, “The heroes marched to Gododin,” an expression equivalent to “The heroes marched to Cattraeth,” at the commencement of other stanzas of the poem. Now Gododin is usually considered to represent a district or region on the eastern coast in the north of the island. But there is every reason to suppose that Gododin was really a city or fortified place, as its termination “din,”

like Lon-din-ium, may perhaps show. We hear of Gwlyget of Gododin, of Cadreith, son of the gate-keeper of Godo, of Fleidwr Flam ab Godo, of the army of Gododin, and the tents of Gododin.

Now it is certain, from the passages quoted from Nennius and Bede, that the place called Judeu by the one, and Giudi by the other, are the same, and both equivalent to Gododin; and, according to Nennius, Judeu was in "Manau."

Now there is a passage in Bede altogether unconnected with the history of the battle in question, which clearly gives the locality of the city Giudi, and affords a further corroboration of the view here taken, that the battle in which Penda was slain is the battle of Cattraeth, and the subject of Aneurin's poem. In Book i. c. xii., speaking of the two arms of the sea, the Frith of Forth, and the Frith of Clyde, which nearly intersect the northern part of the island of Britain, the Saxon historian says, "the eastern gulf (*i. e.*, the Frith of Forth) has in its centre the city Giudi," the western (*i. e.*, the Frith of Clyde) has on its right bank the city of Alcluith," the modern Dumbarton. Buchanan and other Scottish writers suppose the city of Giudi to have been somewhere in the middle of the isthmus, near the river Carron, or where M. de la Villemarqu  has fixed the site of Cattraeth.

The editors of the *Monumenta Historica Britannica* are of opinion that Giudi was Inchkeith, or Innisholme, and Camden considered Inchkeith the same as Camelon, near Stirling.

The etymology of the names Jedworth, Jedburgh, might lead us to look in that locality for the site of the city Giudi, or Jut-eu. From the tradition preserved by the medi val Welsh bards of the "Three Towers of Cattraeth," and of its palatial splendour and riches, (a tradition the latter part of which agrees remarkably with the statement of Nennius and the Chronicles of the wealth that was in the city of Giudi,) I am inclined to look upon the 43rd stanza as containing one of the names by which

the city, or a portion of the fortifications connected with it, was known.

“Oed dor diachor diachor Din Drei
Oed mynut wrth olut ae kyrchei.”

“The entrance to Din Drei was not guarded,
There was a mountain of riches for those who should approach
it.”

Din Drei may not improbably represent the Trimontium of the Romans, now Eildon Hill, with its three pinnacles, a place abounding in ancient earthworks, and in a very probable locality for the city of Giudi. The actual battle in front of the city was fought at the Cattraeth, or battle strand, that is, on a plain at the confluence of the streams which had then overflowed their banks. I shall not at present pursue this matter further, by entering on the chronological difficulties which arise from placing the date of the battle of Cattraeth so low A.D. 654. They certainly are not insuperable; and the fact, if well established, of the death of Domnal Brec in that battle, is in favour of the view I have endeavoured to support. If this view be ultimately corroborated and established by further research, it is undoubtedly an advantage conferred on ancient British history, to have connected so important an event as the battle of Cattraeth, as depicted in the poem of the ancient British bard, with the authentic annals of contemporaneous history.

EARL CARBERY.

THE Vaughans of Golden Grove, co. Caermarthen, were descended from Gwaithvoed, Lord of Caerdigan,¹ whose great-grandson was Bleddyn ab Cynvyn, King of Powys, (A.D. 1046,) which comprehended Montgomeryshire, parts of Shropshire, and parts of the present counties of Brecknock, Denbigh, and Radnor. He was founder of the third Royal Tribe of Wales, derived from Mervyn, King of Powys, third son of Roderick the Great (Rhodri Mawr) in female succession, from his great-grandmother Angharad, who was the grand-daughter of the heiress of Mervyn. The possessions of Bleddyn ab Cynvyn were alluded to in the following distich:—

“Bleddyn ab Cynvyn bob cwys
Ei hun a bioedd hên Bowys.”

I am indebted to a distinguished genealogist in this town for the following translation:—

“Bleddyn ab Cynvyn himself is
Owner of all the lands in ancient Powys.”

This Bleddyn, in 1073, was traitorously and cowardly murdered by Rhys ap Owain and the gentlemen (?) of Ystrad Towy, after he had governed Wales many years in a liberal and merciful manner.

Arms,—*Or*, a lion ramp. *gu.*, armed and langued of the first.

He was succeeded by his son Meredydd, by Haer, daughter of Gillyn. He had five other sons: Llywarch and Cadogan by another woman; Madoc and Ririd by the third; Iorwerth by the fourth. Meredydd bore arms,—*Ar.* a lion ramp. *sa.*; and his successor Madoc, his son, married Susanna, daughter of Gruffydd ap Conan, Prince of North Wales, and died at Winchester, A.D. 1160.

Ample materials are now before me to trace this family

¹ Vaughan of Hengwrt, in his *British Antiquities Revived*, shows very clearly that the ancestor of the Earl of Carbery was Gwaethvoed Vawr, Lord of Powys, and not Gwaethvoed, Lord of Cardigan, who was contemporary with Bleddyn ab Cynvyn.—ED. CAMB. JOUR.

down through ten generations to Sir John Vaughan, Knight, Comptroller to Charles I. when Prince of Wales. James Howell, author of *Epistolæ Ho-Eliaſæ*, in a letter dated Madrid, 13th August, 1623, addressed, "To my Cousin Tho. Gwin, Esq., at his House in Trecastle," says, "*Mr. Vaughan* of the *Golden Grove* and I were comrades and Bedfellows here many months together; his Father, Sir John Vaughan, the Prince his Controuler, is lately come to attend his Master." The Prince of Wales had gone over to Madrid for the purpose of negotiating a marriage with the Infanta of Spain, the breaking off of which caused so much apprehension.

The Mr. Vaughan referred to as being the bedfellow of James Howell (brother to Dr. Howell, Bishop of Bristol, born at Bryn in Llangammarch, co. Brecon), was Richard Vaughan, who was knighted at the coronation of Charles I., and in the subsequent reign (20th December, 1660) appointed Lord-Lieutenant of North and South Wales, and on the 2nd of January, 1669, Lord President of Wales and the Marches. He resided part of his time at Ludlow Castle, where the Councils were held. On his elevation to that latter high trust, he appointed Butler his Secretary, and Steward of the Castle. In one of the outer buildings he is said to have composed the first cantos of his celebrated poem of *Hudibras*.

The following are copies of both appointments, together with the appointment of Robert Price, of Geeler, Esq., to be Lord Carbery's deputy for Denbighshire:—

Charles the Second by the Grace of God King of England Scotland France and Ireland, Defender of the Faith &c. **To** Our right Trusty and Welbeloved Couzin S^r Richard Vaughan, Knight of the Bath Lord Vaughan of Emblin & Molingar, Earle of Carbery, Greeting. **Know** yee That for the great and singular Trust & Confidence That Wee have in your approved fidelity, wisdom and circumspection, Wee have assigned, made, constituted & ordained And by these presents doe assigne make constitute and ordaine you to bee Our Lieutenant, within Our

Counties of Anglesey, Brecknock, Cardigan, Carmarthen, Carnarvan, Denbigh, Flint, Glamorgan, Merioneth, Montgomery, Pembroke and Radnor and the Towne and Burrough of Carmarthen and County of the same and Towne of Haverfordwest and County of the same, and all other Corporate and priviledged places within the Limitts or precincts of the said Counties and of every of them as well within Liberties as without AND by these presents doe give full power and authority unto you, That you from time to time may leavy, gather and call together all and singular Our Subjects of what estate degree or dignity they or any of them be dwelling or Inhabiting within our said Counties and Townes and Counties of the same and within all other places corporate and priviledged within the Limitts and precincts of the same Counties and of every of them (as well within Liberties as without) meet and apt for the warrs, And them to try, array and putt in readinesse, And them also and every of them after their abilities degrees and faculties well and sufficiently to cause to bee armed and sufficiently weaponed, and to take the Musters of them from time to time in places most meet for that purpose after your good discretion, AND also the same Our Subjects soe arrayed tryed and armed as well men of Armes as other Horsemen, Archers and footmen of all kinds and degrees meet and apt for the warrs to lead and conduct as well against all and singular Our Enemies, As also against all and singular Rebels, Traytors and other like Offenders and their Adherents against Vs, Our Crowne and Dignity within Our said Counties and Townes and Counties of the same, And all other Corporate and priviledged places within the Limitts or precincts of the same Counties as well within Liberties as without from time to time as often as need shall require by your discretion; and with the said Enemies, Traytors and Rebels to fight and them to invade resist repress subdue slay kill and putt to execution of death by all waies and meanes by your said good discretion, AND to doe fulfill and execute all and singular other things which shall be requisite for the

Leaving and Government of our said Subjects, Conservation of Our Person and Peace soe by you in forme aforesaid Levyed and to bee ledd. **And** further to doe execute and vse against the said Enemies, Traytors and Rebells and such other like Offenders and their Adherents, as necessity shall require by yo^r discretion the Law called the Martiall Law according to the Law Martiall And of such Offenders apprehended or being brought into subjection to save whom you shall thinke good to bee saved, And to slay, destroye and putt to execution of death such and as many of them as you shall thinke meet by good discretion to bee putt to death, **And** further Our Will and Pleasure is, And Wee doe by these presents give unto you full power and authority, That in case any Invasion of Enemies Insurrection Rebellion Ryotts Routes or vnlawfull assemblies or any like Offences shall happen to bee moved in any place of this Our Realme out of the Limitts of this Our Comission, That then and as often as you shall perceive any such misdemenor to aryse you and all the power you can make shall with all diligence reaire to the place where any such Invasion, unlawfull Assembly or Insurrection shall happen to bee made to subdue, repress and reforme the same as well by Battaile or other kind of force as otherwise by the Lawes of Our Realme and the Law Martiall according to your discretion. **And** further Wee give you full power and authority for the execution of this our Comission to appoint and assigne within Our said Counties and Townes and Counties of the same and all other corporate and privileged places aforesaid as well within Liberties as without Muster Masters and one Provost Martiall which Provost Martiall shall execute and vse the Martiall Law in case of Invasion, Insurrection or Rebellion in conducting any numbers of men against the said Invaders, Traytors and Rebells during the continuance of such Invasion, Insurrection or Rebellion. **Wherefore** Wee Will and Command you Our said Lieutenant that with all diligence you execute premisses with effect **And** Forasmuch as it may bee that there shall be just Cause for you to be at-

tendant upon Our person or to be employed otherwise in Our Service whereby this Our Service of Lieutenancy Comitted to your fidelity cannot bee by you in person executed in such sort as Wee have appointed the same; THEREFORE WEE doe give vnto you for your better Ayd and assistance and for the better performance and execution of this Our Service full power and authority from time to time to Name appoint assigne and constitute by writing vnder your hand and seale such sufficient and meet person and persons as you in your discretion shall thinke fitt to bee your Deputies in this said Service within Our said Counties of Anglesey Brecknock Cardigan Carmarthen Carnarvan Denbigh Flint Glamorgan Merioneth Montgomery Pembroke and Radnor and Our said Townes of Carmarthen and Haverfordwest and Counties of the same, and all other corporate and priviledged places within the Limitts and precincts of the same Counties and every of them as well within Liberties as without. **N**evertthelesse Our Will and Pleasure is And Wee doe hereby Will and Require you, That before you appoint and assigne any Deputies for the Service aforesaid you doe from time to time present their names to Vs for Our allowance and approbation of them. **A**nd Wee doe by this Our present Comission give vnto such Deputies soe being by you assigned and appointed as aforesaid or to any Two or more of them full power and authority in your absence to doe and execute in Our said respective Counties and Townes and Counties of the same and all other corporate and priviledged places (as well within Liberties as without) All and every thing & things before by this Our Comission assigned and appointed by you to be done and executed. **A**nd Our further Will and Pleasure is That your said Deputies soe by you from time to time to bee named assigned and appointed as aforesaid shall immediately after your Letters of Deputatōn to them made as aforesaid take charge and care to see every point of this Our Comission as fully and perfectly executed in yo^r absence as you yourselfe ought to have done it if you had been personally present. **A**ND the

better to enable them soe to doe Our Will and Pleasure is, That immediately after such Deputation made as aforesaid you deliver vnto them a Duplicate or true Transcript of this Our Comission subscribed with your hand, And whatsoever you or your said Deputies in your absence shall doe by virtue of this Our Comission and according to the tenor and effect of the same touching the execution of the premisses or any part thereof; the same shall be by these presents discharged in that behalfe against Vs, Our heires and Successors. **And** further Wee Will and Cōmand all and singular Our Justices of Peace, Maiors, Sheriffs, Constables, Headboroughs, and all other Our Officers, Ministers and Subjects meet and apt for the Warrs within Our said Counties and Townes and Counties of the same and all other corporate and privileged places as aforesaid (as well within Liberties as without) to whome it shall or may appertaine, that they and every of them with their power and servants from time to time shall bee attendant, ayding, assisting, Councelling, helping and at the Comandement as well of you as of the Deputies soe named and appointed by you as aforesaid in the execution hereof as they and every of them tender Our Pleasure and will answere the contrary at their vtmost perills. **In witnes** Whereof We have caused these our letters to be made Patents. **Witness** Ourselfe at Westminster the one & Twentieth day of December in the Twelvth yeare of Our Raigne.

To all **xiān** people to whome this present Writeing shall come I Richard Lord Vaughan Baron of Emblin and Molinger Earle of Carbery Knight of the Noble Order of the Bath and Lord Lieutenant of Wales wthin the Counties of Anglesey Brecknocke Cardigan Carmarthen Carnarvan Denbigh Flint Glamorgan Merioneth Montgomery Pembroke and Radnor and the Towne and Burrough of Carmarthen and County of the same And towne of Haverfordwest and County of the same send Greeting in our Lord God Everlasting **Whereas** the Kings most Excellent Ma^{tie} by this Highnes Comission

vnder the Great Seale of England beareing date the one and Twentieth day of December last past did assigne make constitute and appoynt me the said Richard Lord Vaughan Earle of Carbery to be his Ma^{ties} Lieutenant of Wales w^hin the same Counties as well w^hin Liberties as w^hout And hath thereby given and granted to me the said Earle full power and authority to doe and putt in execution sundry directions in the sayd Comission conteyned as by the said Comission beareing date the day and yeare aforesaid where-vnto relation may be had a true Transcript thereof being here-vnto annexed more at Large appeareth And further hath for my better ayd and assistance and for the better performance and executon of the said Service Given vnto me the said Earle full power and Authority to appoynt assigne and constitute from tyme to tyme w^h his Ma^{ties} approbaton by my wryting vnder my hand and Seale soe many Persons of Qualite as to me from tyme to tyme shall seeme meet and convenient to be my Deputies within the Counties aforesaid and in all corporate and privilege places within the same Counties And further by the said Comission hath given to the said Deputies soe to be by me assigned appointed and constituted as aforesaid or any Two of them full power and authoritie to doe and execute in my absence in the same Counties and all corporate and priviledge places w^hin the Limitts & precincts of the same Counties as well w^hin Liberties a w^hout All such and soe much of every thinge & things by the said Comission assigned & appoynted by me to be done & executed and soe farr forth as by me in my said writing of deputation shal be to them prescribed & appoynted to be done & executed **Now** know yee that I the said Earle of Carbery according to the tenor & effect of the said Comission & w^h his Ma^{ties} approbatō Have assigned appointed & constituted And doe by these presents assigne constitute & appoint Robert Price of Geeler Esq^r to be one of my Deputies in the said Service for & within the County of Denbigh in North Wales To doe execute & performe the same Service & all things & services whatsoever mentioned & ex-

pressed in the said Comission to be done & performed by me & by my deputies wthin the said County according to the said Comission and in as full large & ample manner as is lymitted appoynted & declared by the said Comission **In witness** whereof I have to this my deputatōn putt my hand & seale the Second day of January in the Twelveth yeare of the Raigne of our Sovereigne Lord Charles the Second Kinge of England Scotland France & Ireland.

CARBERY.

Ex ^{te} WILL: COWLEY.

Charles R.

Charles by the grace of God Kinge of England Scotland France and Ireland Defender of the Faith &c. **Wee** have nominated and appointed and for us our heirs and successors **Doe** nominate and appoint our right, trusty, and well-beloved Cousin Richard Lord Vaughan Earl of Carbery to be president of our counsell in our dominion and principality of Wales and the marches of the same with all offices, clercks, and incidents to the same **To Have and to hold** the said place of president in such manner and forme as the same hath bin heretofore used and accustomed, and in as large, ample, and beneficial manner, and to all intents and purposes as William Earl of Northampton, John Earl of Bridgwater, or our deare Cousin Prince Rupert, or either of them, or any other person formerly enjoyed exercised, and executed the Same.

Given under our sign manuell and privy signett at our Court at Whitehall the second day of January in the twentieth year of reigne.

By his Majesty's Command

ED: NICHOLAS.

Sir Richard Vaughan, second Earl Carbery, son of Sir John Vaughan, the first Earl, by Margaret, daughter of Sir Gelly Meyrick, and grand-daughter of Dr. Rowland Meyrick, Bishop of Bangor, (to which See he succeeded

Dr. Glyn, and was consecrated on the 21st of December, 1559,) married first Bridget, daughter and sole heir of William Lloyd, Esq., of Llanllyr, co. Caerdigan, by Bridget, daughter of Sir Walter Lloyd, of Llanvaircy-dogau, in the same county, Bart., and dying without surviving issue, Earl Carbery sold the Llanllyr estate to Thomas Lloyd, Esq.

His lordship married secondly Frances, daughter and coheir of Sir James Altham, of Orbery, Herts, Knt. She died at Golden Grove on the 9th of October, 1650, leaving issue two sons and two daughters, the former of whom was Francis Lord Vaughan, who married in 1653 Lady Rachel, daughter and coheiress of Thomas Wriothesley, Earl of Southampton, and died in his father's lifetime, leaving no issue. Lady Rachel (widow of Francis Lord Vaughan) married secondly the unfortunate Lord William Russell, at whose trial, on the 13th of July, 1683, that distinguished lady displayed so much affection, zeal, and talent; but on that occasion "law and justice were offered up a sacrifice on the altar of loyalty."

Saturday's Post for October 5, 1723, contains the following notice:—"The Right Hon. Lady Russell, relict of Lord William Russell, died on Sunday morning last 5 o'Clock aged Eighty-Six and her Corpse is to be carried² to Chenies in Buckinghamshire, to be buried with that of her lord."

The third wife of Richard, second Earl Carbery, was Alice, eleventh daughter of John Egerton, Earl of Bridgewater, by Lady Frances, daughter and one of the coheiresses of Ferdinand Earl of Derby. She died without issue.

Sir John Vaughan, the first Earl, married secondly Jane, daughter of Sir Thomas Palmer, of Wingham, co. Kent, Knt., widow of Sir William Meredith, of Leeds Castle, same county. He died at Golden Grove on the 6th of May, 1634, and was buried at Llandeilowawr.

Richard, second Earl, was a staunch adherent to the

² From her house in Bloomsbury Square.

royal cause, notwithstanding insinuations to the contrary, probably on account of the fact that Cromwell dined with the Countess at Golden Grove, on his march to besiege Pembroke Castle. Cromwell was accompanied by a troop of horse, fully intending to seize the person of the Earl, who, having had information of the danger he was placed in, concealed himself at a farm-house in the neighbourhood. Cromwell's design having been thus frustrated, he left, and shortly afterwards sent a present of red deer, from one of the royal forests, to the Earl, as an acknowledgment for the hospitality he had received at Golden Grove; but it is more probable that the object was to win Earl Carbery to the Parliamentary ranks.

It is thus shown that Earl Carbery proved faithful to the royal cause, or Charles II. would not have conferred upon him two of the most important offices in the Principality, viz., Lord-Lieutenant, and President of the Marches of Wales.

Jeremy Taylor, chaplain in ordinary to Charles I., wrote several of his works at Golden Grove. Earl Carbery afforded him an asylum during the civil war. On the restoration he was consecrated Bishop of Down and Connor and Dromore.

JOSEPH JOSEPH.

Brecon, 29th April, 1861.

A TRANSLATION OF A WELSH ESSAY

ON THE ADVANTAGES RESULTING FROM THE PRESERVATION OF THE
WELSH LANGUAGE AND NATIONAL COSTUMES OF WALES.¹

At the request of some of our most estimable correspondents, we reprint the following Essay by the late eminent

¹ Beauties of Alun; being the Life and Literary Remains, in Welsh and English, of the late Rev. John Blackwell, B.A., (*Alun*), Curate of Holywell, and Rector of Manordeivy. J. Clarke, Ruthin; H. Hughes, St. Martin's-le-Grand, London, 1851. The work has been ably edited by the Rev. G. Edwards (*Gutyn Padarn*).

Bard and Scholar, Blackwell; especially as it furnishes valuable information on a subject that is engaging a good deal of the public attention just now, that is, the National Costume of the Welsh:—

“The great English Lexicographer in his letter on the Gaelic edition of the Scriptures, makes the following remark, ‘I am not very willing that any language should be totally extinguished. The similitude and derivation of languages afford the most indubitable proof of the traduction of nations, and the genealogy of mankind. They add often physical certainty to historical evidence; and often supply the only evidence of ancient migrations, and of the revolutions of ages, which left no written monuments.’ A writer, who at one time distinguished himself in his opposition to the Welsh, observes also, ‘that no language, however poor, ought to be neglected.’ The utility of cultivating any particular language, whilst it continues to be a medium of communication between man and man, is universally conceded; but the claims of that language to protection becomes much stronger when it is proved, that it is the repository of documents interesting and important to the scholar; and that the welfare and comfort of the people who speak it depend much upon its existence. The object of the following pages shall be to show, that on these grounds, the Welsh demands from Welshmen special regard and encouragement.

“Ignorance alone thought that the Welsh contained no writings deserving of notice. We still possess nearly two thousand manuscripts, containing specimens of the authorship of every century from the fifth downwards. Many of these have of late years been presented to the world in that valuable compilation the ‘Archæology of Wales.’ As the Ancient Britons were further advanced in the knowledge of letters, at an earlier period than the other inhabitants of Western and Northern Europe, their Triads and Chronicles must be documents of importance to the historian and the antiquary. They contain almost the only account now in existence of the early affairs of Britain. They throw a light upon the state of the aboriginal tribes—their form of government and policy—their towns and places of defence. Until these records were lately unrolled, the Britons themselves scarcely knew from what source they had descended. The fables of Geoffrey of Monmouth had brought the world to believe in the expedition of the Trojan Brutus; and many a Welshman had been induced to trace his pedigree through Priam, Jove, and Saturn, to Gomer himself. But the Triads have dispelled this mist, and have shewn that the island was first colonized by Hu the Mighty and his pacific band.

“Long were the reveries of the Glastonbury Monks believed, respecting the introduction of the Gospel into Britain. They taught that Joseph of Arimathea was the first who proclaimed on our shores that the Redeemer to whom he had lent a grave, had become ‘death

unto death.' Others conjectured that St. Peter, and some, that the converted persecutor of Tarsus, first planted on our white cliffs the peaceful banners of the cross. Thus, a doubt rested from age to age upon this important point. Ecclesiastical historians had not the opportunity to consult our Welsh Triads. These, when examined, brought to light a new and most interesting fact; and a comparison with the Roman annals has fully confirmed their testimony. It appears that Bran ab Llyr, and his fellow-captives, were the means by which the treasures of the Gospel were introduced to our forefathers. It is made evident that this family were hostages at Rome during a part of the two years in which St. Paul was a prisoner there; and it is not improbable that that 'messenger in bonds' was the instrument to bring them to the knowledge of the 'truth that maketh free.'

"Indeed, the modern English would have known but little respecting their own ancestors, were it not for the Welsh Chronicles; and the same thing may be said of much of the civil and ecclesiastical history of Ireland. Is not this one reason for preserving the Welsh language, even if there were no other reasons?

"To our language we are indebted for many of those characteristics which distinguish us as a nation. There is scarcely a people, though verging on savage life, that thinks not highly of its own name and lineage: we find the same spirit also in the most civilized and cultivated. This may be called national vanity; still, as it frequently is the source of patriotism, it may be forgiven. There is probably no other nation in Europe that can boast of so ancient an existence as a distinct people as the Cymry; none who can look upon their long history with less cause of shame. They were ever the lovers of peace; but when their rights were invaded, they proved themselves to be brave also. For the sake of tranquillity, they left Deffrobani, and sought the shores of Britain; and for the twelve centuries in which they battled for their liberties, they carried their arms to no foreign land; nor attempted to plant their banners on citadels which they had not themselves built. Oppression alone aroused them to the conflict. They were the last in entering the field, and the last in leaving it. They never bowed their neck to the yoke of the foreigner. It is true they were subdued, but they succumbed not. While one hand was extended to pay the tribute, the other was raised to strike the oppressor. At length, a Prince of their own race ascended the British throne; and from that period, who have been so steadfast in their loyalty? who so peaceable as the Cymry?

"How many nations have sunk in the gulf of years since Hu the Mighty led over his colony to *Glas Merddin*! The very names of many of them have passed away. Where now are even those who astonished the world with their achievements? Where are they? I ask History,—tell me, thou hoary chronicler of the grave, could not repositories filled with the merchandize of the world? could not triumphs in a thousand battles? could not institutions of all that man

ever knew, save a people from passing to oblivion? No: Assyria and Chaldea thought they could, but ages have slept on the ruins of Nineveh and Babylon. Where are the ancient Romans? The sceptre that swayed a world has long been broken. The Goths have trampled on the throne of the twelve Cæsars. Where are the Carthaginians? The vassals of a vassal are treading on the ashes of Hanibal. These are not numbered now among the nations. While they were in the height of their power and magnificence, the Cymry were a distinct people,—they are a distinct people still; they bear their original name, and possess many of their original national characteristics. How were they preserved while the waves of oblivion rolled over so many greater and more powerful nations? It is not owing to our independence, for that died with the death of Llewelyn, six centuries ago. It is not owing to our want of intercourse with others,—we are on the best terms with our neighbours. And after two thousand years of change, we remain, as to all that gives a distinct character to a people, nearly the same. The great cause of all this has been our attachment to the language and customs of our fathers. When our brethren in Cornwall lost their language, they soon lost the name of being a people.

“Our innocent habits have frequently obtained the praise of the stranger. In the course of ages, some epithet generally attaches itself to a nation, which is expressive of the peculiar habits of its people. Thus we hear of brave Englishmen and crafty Scotchmen; but we are not aware of any nation being called *honest* except the Welsh. The simplicity and innocence of our habits form the source of many of our comforts; and especially that contentment which makes our peasantry appear so happy in the midst of their many privations. Should our vernacular language, which serves as a barrier against every injurious foreign intercourse, be abolished, we believe that much of our national simplicity would disappear at the same time. In the days of their degeneracy, the Romans affected to speak Greek, to the exclusion of their own tongue; and it has been frequently said, that their own effeminate manners, rather than the Goths and Vandals, worked their overthrow.

“We sometimes boast of our love towards each other; but what has a greater tendency to bind together the different ranks of society, than for every grade to speak the language of their fathers? Union reigned among the builders of Babel, until their language was confused; then, they were soon scattered. More cultivation of our vernacular tongue, and a greater use of it in social intercourse, between high and low, would conduce to the increase of unity and brotherly love.

“We pride ourselves on our love of country, and frequently apply to ourselves Goldsmith’s beautiful description of the Swiss peasant:—

‘Dear is that shed, to which his soul conforms,
And dear that hill which lifts him to the storms;

And the loud torrent, and the whirlwind's roar
But bind him to his native mountains more.'

His language forms one, and a principal one, of those associations which attaches the Welshman to his native hills. Were this love of country gone, with the feelings that are akin to it, and which make up the general character of our people,—what would remain in the Principality? Huge cliffs and barren mountains,—a land that presented but few features that would entice the stranger and the lover of simple comfort to cast his lot within our borders.

"The Welsh language ought to be cultivated because it is the only medium of religious and useful information to no less than half a million of our countrymen. They understand not—and judging from the fondness with which they cling to it, we might imagine that they do not wish to understand another. Efforts have not been wanting in every age, from the time of Edward I. almost to the present, to bring about its annihilation. Civil enactments, ecclesiastical influence, public threats, and private machinations, have all been resorted to for this purpose; but in vain. In the words of Gwallter Mechain, at the Wrexham Eisteddfod, 'The poisoned arrows of the enemies returned upon themselves, Cymru only hid her face and smiled.' Instead of decaying, our language thrives in her old age. It is understood, spoken, and written more generally, and more correct now, than it has been for centuries. Offa's Dyke was the supposed boundary between the Welsh and English languages a thousand years ago; it is no more than a boundary this day. Pure Welsh is heard even on the English side of it, in many places. Thus the body of the nation still remains firmly attached to the language of our forefathers. And as three centuries of wrong, and other three of neglect, have been unable to move their affections from it, so six centuries more of a similar treatment would not avail to accomplish this. In the lowlands, it may occasionally loose ground; but it will live amongst the mountaineers of Arvon, Meirion, and Brecknock, until the rocks, on which they tread, rend in nature's last convulsions.

"We perceive from the experience of the past, that the work of abolishing the Welsh language must take centuries for its accomplishment, even if ever possible. Now it comes an important question, what is to be the state of our peasantry while this change of language would be in progress. The difficulty of such a change would be immeasurably increased among a people scattered, as the Welsh are, through the depth of vallies, and over pathless hills. Shall we allow our countrymen to sink into barbarism and ignorance, while this process of changing the language is going on? Shall age after age sink to the grave unblest with any instruction? 'There is nothing,' says Bishop Heber, 'that has a greater tendency to fetter native talent, than to neglect the vernacular language of a country.' This would be but one of the misfortunes of our people, if either neglect or force should prevail to keep from them that information which suits their circumstances, through the only vehicle they can profit

by. Let us see what effect the neglect of a vernacular tongue, as a medium of education, has had upon the native Irish. Anderson, in his *Historical Sketches*, says, 'that no less than three millions speak the Erse as their native tongue.' Scarcely has a book been printed among them, nor has any effort been made, by cultivating it, to render the language a proper medium of instruction to those who speak it. The result has been, that the districts where the Erse alone is spoken, are proverbially the most uncivilized and disaffected parts of Ireland. The murky wings of a fell superstition have spread over them; and rapine and murder stalk abroad fearlessly in the gloom. Nights are devoted to outrage. The people put houses in flames to guide them on their course. The music they love are the groans of the dying. How has the same age, which proved so beneficial to our happy Principality, left Ireland still the home of all that is destructive to the well-being of society? We cannot answer the question except by saying, that while the Erse has been neglected, the Welsh has received a considerable attention and cultivation, and has been made the vehicle of useful and religious information to our people as they needed it.

"Let the opponents of the Welsh reflect upon the consequences which might possibly result from the accomplishment of their wishes. Is it indeed true that they would discourage every attempt to diffuse intelligence among our peasantry, until the English had become vernacular? Would they wish to banish the language of our hills from our Churches and Schools, and Bibles,—and thus take away the bread of life from the hands of half a million of people, because the medium through which it is conveyed to them is not according to their fancy? Would they indeed rob the children of sorrow of the only consolation that sweetens their cup,—and would they hang the clouds of despair over the grave of the departed? If not, let them no longer attempt to demoralize a nation, with the groundless hope of doing good to their children in centuries to come.

"There are other objections to the cultivation of the Welsh language which demand our notice. Some of our opponents say they have no wish to destroy it utterly; that it should be cherished as a dead language on account of the writings it contains, but not as a living vehicle of thought, because the subjects of the same government ought to speak but one tongue, otherwise many serious difficulties are placed in the way of commerce, and the administration of justice in courts of law. We freely confess that were there only one language spoken vernacularly throughout the empire, it would be very desirable. So, peace is a very desirable blessing, but a nation will not give up its liberty and independence for the sake of obtaining it. It would be very desirable if all the world had only one language, but the desires of man cannot overturn the designs of Providence. It is indeed difficult to administer the laws duly, where the parties concerned are of different languages; but is there no way to remove the difficulty, except by the abolition of our fathers' tongue? Could

not functionaries be found, who understand both Welsh and English? Or, could not able interpreters be appointed in the courts? for this would remove much of the obstacle. The laws were administered among the English for centuries after the Conquest in the Norman French; but we never read of any proposal being made to them of changing the vernacular for the language of the law.

“Our answers to those who assert that our language ought to be changed, because it is a shackle upon our trade and commerce, shall be given in the words of the late Mr. Walters, ‘Whether a few mercenary tradesmen, a few tricking drovers, &c., may, or may not, be something incommoded by the existence of more languages than one at a time in a nation, is an inquiry of too little importance to employ the serious thoughts of the cultivators of languages and literature, for the particular advantage of such individuals is an object not worth the care of the enlarged mind, when it comes in competition with the temporal and spiritual welfare of a numerous people.’

“It is generally said that our peasantry would have been much better informed if the English had been their language, as the sources of intelligence to be found in it would have been within their reach. To this it may be answered, that a knowledge of the English language alone would not make our people acquainted with the stores of English literature; the state of England itself proves this. We rejoice however to think that now, from the multiplicity of English schools in every part of the Principality, the poorest of our children are not without the means of acquiring an acquaintance with English. Still, as if by some uncontrollable destiny, the Welsh continues the language of the cottage and the market. Nor are we at all disposed to deplore this as long as we find our peasantry as well informed as those of England, who are placed in similar circumstances. In large towns, indeed, where the crowded state of society brings the ignorant so often to an intercourse with the intelligent English, the lower orders may have reached a higher step on the scale of mental improvement than our own. Should, however, a comparison be made between the amount of general information found in the fens of Lincolnshire, and that already spread over the most secluded and desolate spots in the Principality, the writer has ground for asserting, that the latter would be found by far the most extensive and useful. Through the efforts of every party in establishing day and Sunday schools, we have now scarcely a cottage without its readers; and we can venture to say, that more of our lower orders are able to read, than can be found among the peasantry of any other country, in proportion to the population, except Scotland.

“If we are further urged to allow our vernacular language to fall into decay from the want of cultivation, and adopt the English, on account of its superior advantages, it would be well for us to inquire whether we, like our first parents, might not be purchasing knowledge

at too great an expense. The liberty of the press is one of the chief of a country's blessings, but some of the best men in England imagine that liberty has, with them, grown into licentiousness. A conscientious believer cannot pass through the streets of London without having his eyes and heart afflicted by some printed indignities thrown upon the holiest things. If the use of a vernacular tongue debars our people from many of the literary advantages which the English possess, it must be remembered also, that this very barrier excludes from our land the blasphemies of Carleile, and the destructive and abominable productions of the English low press in general. Nor indeed is the Welsh cottage library very deficient: we have fifteen monthly periodicals: and no less than nine expositions upon the whole, and upon portions, of the Bible, are now being published. Our humble native press is hitherto pure, and long may it continue so. Immorality and infidelity have not hitherto acquired our language. In England there is no lack of writers who delight to trifle with the temporal and eternal welfare of their readers—men who drink of the cup of licentiousness, and 'dissolve the pearl of their salvation in the draught,'—men who put on the sacred mantle of liberty, and conceal a dagger within its folds. These wicked and desperate men have scarcely left any portion of the empire uninjured, except Wales. What has prevented scepticism and sedition from diffusing their poisonous influences on the banks of the Dee and the Severn? Beyond a doubt our language has been the chief cause of this remarkable preservation. The infidel and the disaffected were ignorant of our mountain tongue, and could not disturb us. In days of tumult the Principality remained faithful. From the day the Cymry saw a Prince of the race of their own Princes ascending the British throne, contentment and a love of peace have formed the character of the nation. In the time of privation and distress, when the inhabitants of other portions of the kingdom complained loudly of the burdens that pressed upon them, the Welsh farmer sang along his furrow, leaving his care upon Him who governed the seasons. What preserved the foundations of civil society unmoved in Wales, when often in England, Scotland, and Ireland, they trembled almost to an overthrow? We sincerely believe that much of this is to be ascribed to the prevalence of a vernacular language. This has proved our bulwark against the attacks of those who delight in commotion. The few of us who had heard of such men, and of their principles, had too much of the fear of our God, and too much love of the social order, to become the instruments of civil strife.

"In saying all this, we are far from wishing to check the ardour of any of our youths in acquiring a knowledge of English. The treasures of wisdom to be found in it are invaluable. Our humble attempt is to show that much of our happiness as a people is wound up with the preservation and cultivation of our language, and that less would be gained than lost by its abolition. We are no advocates of ignorance of any kind: our conduct proves the contrary. In every

portion of the Principality, it is invariably found that the advocates and conservators of our vernacular tongue, are also the most zealous for the advancement of those around them in all useful information.

"After all, in looking on the present state of things, we do not see the most distant prospect, we confess, of that annihilation of the Welsh, which our opponents seem to wish for so ardently. It is now, and it is likely to be, the language of the Sunday school and the ministry. True it is, that more English is spoken in the Principality now than there was a century ago; that, however, is no decided proof of there being less Welsh: the population has doubled; means of instruction have increased much during that period; and much also of this knowledge of English is to be attributed to the infinitely greater intercourse which has taken place between us and our fellow-subjects of late years, than ever existed before. Still we know but of two districts, and those near the ancient boundaries of England, where the Welsh has lately lost much ground; in some places it has gained. A Welsh chapel was built a few years ago on the English side of Offa's Dyke, and within nine miles of Chester. Fifteen years back a colony of Cornish miners, to the number of two hundred, settled at the Flintshire mines; most of these persons now speak Welsh, and their children scarcely speak any other language. Thus, it appears to us, that our fathers' venerable tongue, '*Quam vetat musa mori*, wants but few efforts to insure its preservation. Consecrated as it has been by the genius of our bards, and surviving as it does the shock of ages, and the wreck of other tongues, it may be almost left for its future existence to its own energies.' It has already proved that there are no materials of death in its composition; and the manner in which it has supported itself in the face of opposition, has shown that there is

'Lle i ddirnad nad oes lladd arni.'

Other languages may have been brought up with History, and grown old in her company; but the *Cymraeg* was an ancient greyheaded dame, and her Bards were bald and blind with age, before History borrowed the pen of learning, or had been cradled in the lap of time; and the language which thus hath not only its youth, but its old age, beyond the research of man, and the recollection of centuries, must possess some qualities which the revolution of years cannot affect: it must be immortal.

"The transition is easy from nationality in language to nationality in costume. Of the mode of dress among our people in olden times, we have now but little information. Sir S. R. Meyrick collected all that lay within his reach, into the *History of Cardiganshire*; and to him we are indebted for some of the first of the following observations. The Laws of Hywel Dda throw some light upon the costume of the tenth century: the principal garments seem to be the *Bryccan*,—a kind of an upper covering; *Pais*,—a coat; and *Llodrau*,—trowsers. In one MSS. copy of the Laws is a drawing of a court of justice. 'In this the King is habited in a cloak, with long loose sleeves, both

of which are highly ornamented. The cloak is open from the sleeves downward on each side. He has a cap upon his head, studded with precious stones, and surmounted with a cross. The elders are in loose cloaks, with loose sleeves reaching to the elbows, through which the arms are seen, covered with tight sleeves. The judges wear a loose robe, which is made tight round the neck, with slashes in it to admit the arms through. Their heads are covered with small caps. The counsellors are habited like the judges, except the cap.

“Giraldus Cambrensis, speaking of the costume of the Welsh in his days, says, ‘they either walk barefooted, or make use of high shoes, roughly constructed of untanned leather. Their dress is not different at night from what it is by day, for at all seasons they defend themselves from the cold only by a thin cloak and waistcoat. The men and women cut their hair close to the ears and eyes. The women, after the manner of the Parthians, cover their heads with a large white veil, folded together in the form of a crown. The men shave all their beard, except the whiskers.’

“D. ab Gwilym, in his poems, describes his own dress, which we may imagine to be that of a gentleman of fashion in the thirteenth century. He wore, he says, ‘long trowsers, a close jacket tied round with a sash, to which was suspended a sword of considerable length; and over the whole a loose flowing gown, trimmed with fur, and a round cap on his head.’

“This is almost all we can gather of the Welsh costume in the middle ages. From the days when peace and intercourse took place between Wales and England, our gentry, in general, adopted the English fashion. Still, some peculiarities remain among us even now, especially in Gwent and Dyfed, which appear native and old. The male dress differs less from the English, generally, than the female. The difference in the former is more in the material of the dress, than in the form. The Welsh peasantry delight in having a whole suit of blue, home-spun, half-fulled cloth,—with blue stockings, or perchance of the native colour of a black sheep; and this made a boy on the borders exclaim, in seeing an Arvonian approach, ‘blue, blue, all blue.’ The Radnorshire cloth is of the same material, but there the sable grey is preferred. In Meirion the *surcyn* (jerkin) is most frequently seen; and even there, now, it is but seldom worn on Sunday. At work it is found convenient, on account of its want of skirts.

“One of the first things that attracts the notice of a stranger in the Principality is the general custom among the females of wearing hats. In some districts sufficient distinction is not observed between the male and female hat. The women of Anglesey and Dyfed, however, show a superior taste in the matter. In Dyfed, the brim of the female hat is rather broad, and the body of it inclines to a cone as it approaches the crown. In Anglesey and Meirion, smaller hats are worn by the women than the men, and these look extremely well. Although some have observed in our hearing, more than once, that the English

bonnets suit the retiring modesty of the sex much better than the open faced hat, we should feel much reluctance in giving up this characteristic part of our national costume; for nothing could be contrived so well calculated to set off the rosy beauties of our hills as this.

"The next article in the female dress is the 'mob cap.' With all our predilection for everything national, we feel a difficulty in speaking well of this. In vain has nature given a neck of symmetry to the fair part of our population, while the broad lappets of the mob cap conceal all, and frequently a part of the face also. Were the lappets narrower, they would look better.

"What is called in Dyfed '*pais a gŵn bach*,' a petticoat and bed-gown, forms a peculiarity in the Welsh female dress. In Flintshire, and the parts of Wales bordering upon England, these garments are made entirely of a mixture of flax or cotton and wool, called linsey woolsey. But as we ascend the mountains something warmer is necessary to defend against the cold of winter and the sudden rains of summer. The material here is a thick flannel, nearly as thick as cloth, and striped alternately dark and dark red. In the upper parts of Cardiganshire, and in all the most mountainous districts, the skirts of the gown are made to descend almost to the ankle. In Dyfed, they are cut in an oval form, and very short, so as to appear like a man's jacket. The skirt of the petticoat is generally hemmed with scarlet tape, which in the vale of the Teifi is called '*cadys coch*.' The sleeves are turned up above the elbow, and from the elbow to the wrist loose sleeves of cotton, with a running string at each end, are generally worn. Aprons of linsey woolsey, or of check, are used, as the gown is open before. Over the shoulders, an oblong piece of flannel is thrown, in Dyfed and other places. On week days, white flannels are generally seen, but on Sunday all appear in their home-spun shawls, of beautiful and brilliant crimson. These red coverings made the French who landed in Pembrokeshire during the late war think that the immense multitude which they saw lining the cliffs, were all soldiers.

"The female mantle is generally made of blue cloth; and so suddenly do the mountains attract a shower from the passing cloud, that on the hottest day a Welshwoman scarcely moves from home without her cloak.

"The young women wear on the head only a narrow ribbon to tie the hair, and a cap; but in some parts, immediately after marriage, a handkerchief is added. This is made into a triangle by being doubled, is thrown over the head, folded under the chin, and the long ends are tied in a knot on the back of the neck. If the climate does not make such a head-dress indispensable, we would not defend its use, for nothing has so much tendency to produce pain in the head as too much tightness and warmth.

"On work days, wooden shoes are worn by the peasantry, in many places; though few are without leathern shoes on the Sunday. The clattering of these on the pavement of our small towns, on a market day, would make the stranger think that a troop of horse was approach-

ing. We have often thought that this practice of wearing heavy and unpliable shoes has given to many of our younger people an awkwardness of gait which nature never intended for them. Yet perhaps the marshy character of much of our country makes the warmest covering for the feet necessary.

“There is one more peculiarity in the Welsh mode of dress which must be noticed,—the almost universal use of flannel in cases where the English prefer linen. The shirts of the lower order are generally of flannel: they almost invariably sleep in blankets. In most of the Welsh districts, a pair of sheets is rarely found in a cottage. As the use of linen is much more conducive to cleanliness, the writer of this endeavoured, a short time back, to induce the cottagers of his neighbourhood to use linen for the purposes mentioned above; but all efforts were abortive. After all, perhaps, they are right, as no slight covering would avail to defend them from the effects of their ever changeable weather. The cotton of Manchester, however multiplied, would be but a poor defence in one of our mountain storms.

“From these very imperfect remarks, it may be seen that one advantage which the Principality derives from the preservation of its national costume consists in the materials being the produce of its own hills. The Welsh mountain farmer can generally find on his own farm almost all he wants for the clothing of his family, and frequently all are manufactured under his own roof.

“It is evident that the nature of the climate compelled our ancestors, centuries ago, to adopt the warm mode of dress which we now call national. Are there not the same reasons for its preservation as there were for its adoption? Nor should we gain anything by a change. Simplicity in dress is frequently a proof of, and conducive to, a simplicity in the social and moral habits. The preservation of the old costume destroys that restless hankering after new fashions which has been the cause of so many domestic broils. Among the English there is no national mode of dress. The higher ranks follow the fashions of Paris, and all below them endeavour to follow their example. Those who profit by this propensity take care to foster it by changing the fashion perpetually. This restless anxiety after something new, however, does not disturb the thoughts of our fair mountaineer. She may put on the dress of her great-grandmother and walk out among her friends, without differing in her appearance from them. And why should she change it? What national costume is there among any other people that appears so neat, and is so well adapted to the climate, as the Welsh one? Let our countrywomen look on the dress of the Bavarian girls, who sell small brooms from door to door, would they exchange with them?

“Nothing cherishes a desire for fine clothes so much as a continual change in the manner of making them; and how often has this pride of dress been a stumbling-block to virtue. Let our peasantry, therefore, preserve their ancient costume, especially as simplicity in dress serves to uphold, in its degree, national simplicity and worth. Let it

not be said that, because we are desirous of saving from oblivion our language and our other characteristics as a people, we are insensible to the necessity of infusing into our peasantry sentiments of friendship towards our fellow-subjects: no, we look upon the English as our brethren; and we know them to be too magnanimous to desire us to sacrifice any national peculiarity as long as the preservation of it does no injury to the general weal. With regard to our union with England, we can adopt the language of old Vaughan of Caergai: 'We have suffered a loss to our gain,—we have been ruined to our advantage.'

"Under a common king, and common laws, our land has enjoyed the sunshine of peace, after a long night of anarchy. We cultivate the arts of peace,—'*Gorsedd Morganwg*' is restored to its pristine superiority,—the harp is tuned again on the grave of Iolo Morganwg,—and the love of country is rekindled under the turrets of Cardiff Castle."

The writer of this Essay was not acquainted with the *Mabinogion*, otherwise he might have found in those tales delineations of other dresses of various kinds, which were worn by the Welsh in the middle ages. We will here transfer into our pages some of these pictures, as they occur in the documents in question, which were translated by Lady Charlotte Guest.

THE LADY OF THE FOUNTAIN.

"I approached the castle, and there I beheld two youths, with yellow curling hair, each with a frontlet of gold upon his head, and clad in a garment of yellow satin; and they had gold clasps upon their insteps. In the hand of each of them was an ivory bow, strung with the sinews of the stag; and their arrows had their shafts of the bone of the whale, and were winged with peacock's feathers. The shafts also had golden heads. And they had daggers with blades of gold, and with hilts of the bone of the whale."—pp. 41-2.

"I saw a man in the prime of life, with his beard newly shorn, clad in a robe and a mantle of yellow satin; and round the top of his mantle was a band of gold lace. On his feet were shoes of variegated leather, fastened by two bosses of gold."—p. 42.

"The fourth six took off my soiled garments and placed others upon me; namely, an under vest and a doublet of fine linen, and a robe, and a surcoat, and a mantle of yellow satin, with a broad gold band upon the mantle."—p. 43.

"Thou wilt see a knight upon a coal black horse, clothed in black velvet, and with a pennon of black linen upon his lance."—p. 48.

"Behold a knight on a black horse appeared, clothed in jet black velvet, and with a tabard of black linen about him."—p. 49.

"He beheld a maiden with yellow curling hair, and a frontlet of gold upon her head; and she was clad in a dress of yellow satin, and on her feet were shoes of variegated leather."—p. 55.

"Following the train, he beheld a lady with yellow hair falling over her shoulders, and stained with blood; and about her a dress of yellow satin, which was torn. Upon her feet were shoes of variegated leather."—p. 58.

"Owain arrayed himself in a coat, and a surcoat, and a mantle of yellow satin, upon which was a broad band of gold lace; and on his feet were high shoes of variegated leather, which were fastened by golden clasps, in the form of lions."—p. 62.

"As Owain one day sat at meat, in the city of Caerleon-upon-Usk, behold a damsel entered upon a bay horse, with a curling mane and covered with foam; and the bridle, and as much as was seen of the saddle, were of gold. And the damsel was arrayed in a dress of yellow satin."—p. 70.

PEREDUR THE SON OF EYRAWC.

"On the chair sat a lovely auburn-haired maiden, with a golden frontlet on her forehead, and sparkling stones in the frontlet, and with a large gold ring on her hand."—p. 301.

GERAINT THE SON OF ERBIN.

"The rider was a fair-haired youth, bare-legged, and of princely mien, and a golden hilted sword was at his side, and a robe and a surcoat of satin were upon him, and two low shoes of leather upon his feet; and around him was a scarf of blue purple, at each corner of which was a golden apple."—p. 72.

"Near the dwarf they saw a lady upon a beautiful white horse, of steady and stately pace, and she was clothed in a garment of gold brocade."—p. 73.

"He beheld without, a knight mounted upon a war-horse, proudly snorting, high-mettled, and large of bone, and a robe of honour in two parts was upon him; and upon his horse, and beneath it, was plenty of armour."—p. 139.

KILHWCH AND OLWEN.

"The maiden was clothed in a robe of flame-coloured silk, and about her neck was a collar of ruddy gold, on which were precious emeralds and rubies."—p. 275.

THE DREAM OF RHONABWY.

"He beheld a youth with yellow curling hair, and with his beard newly trimmed, mounted on a chesnut horse, whereof the legs were grey from the top of the fore legs, and from the bend of the hind legs downwards. And the rider wore a coat of yellow satin sewn with

green silk, and on his thigh was a gold hilted sword, with a scabbard of new leather of Cordova, belted with the skin of the deer, and clasped with gold. And over this was a scarf of yellow satin, wrought with green silk, the borders whereof were likewise green. And the green of the caparison of the horse, and of his rider, was as green as the leaves of the fir tree, and the yellow was as yellow as the blossom of the broom."—p. 397.

"Behold a ruddy youth, without beard or whiskers, noble of mien, and mounted on a stately courser. And from the shoulders and the front of the knees downwards the horse was bay. And upon the man was a dress of red satin wrought with yellow silk, and yellow were the borders of his scarf. And such parts of his apparel and of the trappings of his horse as were yellow, as yellow were they as the blossom of the broom, and such as were red were as ruddy as the ruddiest blood in the world."—p. 399.

"A tall auburn-haired youth stood before him with his sheathed sword in his hand, and clad in a coat and a cap of jet black satin. And his face was white as ivory, and his eyebrows black as jet, and such part of his wrist as could be seen between his glove and his sleeve, was whiter than the lily, and thicker than a warrior's ancle."—p. 400.

"One troop there came of brilliant white, whereof everyone of the men had a scarf of white satin with jet black borders; and their banners were pure white, with black points to them all."—p. 403.

"Further on he saw a troop, whereof each man wore garments of jet black, with borders of pure white to every scarf; and the tops of the shoulders and the knees of their horses were pure white. And their banners were jet black, with pure white at the point of each."—pp. 403-4.

"There came a young page with yellow curling hair and blue eyes, and a newly springing beard, wearing a coat and a surcoat of yellow satin, and hose of thin greenish cloth upon his feet, and over his hose shoes of parti-coloured leather, fastened at the insteps with golden clasps. And he bore a heavy three-edged sword with a golden hilt, in a scabbard of black leather tipped with fine gold."—pp. 406-7.

"Behold a ruddy young man with auburn curling hair, and large eyes, well grown, and having his beard new shorn, came forth from a bright yellow tent, upon the summit of which was the figure of a bright red lion, and he was clad in a coat of yellow satin, falling as low as the small of his leg, and embroidered with threads of red silk, and on his feet were hose of fine white buckram, and buskins of black leather were over his hose, whereon were golden clasps, and in his hand a huge, heavy, three-edged sword, with a scabbard of red deer hide, tipped with gold."—p. 408.

"Coming out of the tent, they saw a youth with thick yellow hair upon his head, fair and comely, and a scarf of blue satin upon him, and a brooch of gold in the scarf upon his right shoulder as large as a warrior's middle finger, and upon his feet were hose of fine Totness,

and shoes of parti-coloured leather, clasped with gold, and the youth was of noble bearing, fair of face, with ruddy cheeks and large hawk's eyes. In the hand of the youth was a mighty lance, speckled yellow, with a newly sharpened head; and upon the lance a banner displayed."—p. 409.

"A large gold hilted one-edged sword had the youth upon his thigh, in a scabbard of light blue, and tipped with Spanish laton. The belt of the sword was of dark green leather with golden slides, and a clasp of ivory upon it, and a buckle of jet black upon the clasp. A helmet of gold was on the head of the knight, set with precious stones of great virtue, and at the top of the helmet was the image of a flame-coloured leopard with two ruby red stones in its head, so that it was astounding for a warrior, however stout his heart, to look at the face of the leopard, much more at the face of the knight. He had in his hand a blue-shafted lance, but from the haft to the point it was stained crimson red with the blood of the ravens and their plumage."—p. 411.

"The knight and the horse were fully accoutred with huge heavy blue armour, and a robe of honour of yellow diaped satin was upon the knight, and the borders of the robe were blue, and the housings of the horse were jet black, with borders of bright yellow, and on the thigh of the youth was a sword, long, and three-edged, and heavy, and the scabbard was of red cut leather, and the belt of new red deerskin, having upon it many golden slides and a buckle of the bone of the sea-horse, the tongue of which was jet black. A golden helmet was upon the head of the knight, wherein were set sapphire stones of great virtue, and at the top of the helmet was the figure of a flame-coloured lion, with a fiery-red tongue, issuing above a foot from his mouth, and with venomous eyes, crimson red, in his head. And the knight came, bearing in his hand a thick ashen lance, the head whereof, which had been newly steeped in blood, was overlaid with silver."—pp. 412–13.

"The knight and horse were equipped with arms of speckled yellow, variegated with Spanish laton, and there was a robe of honour upon him, and upon his horse, divided in two parts, white and black, and the borders of the robe of honour were of golden purple, and above the robe he wore a sword, three-edged and bright, with a golden hilt, and the belt of the sword was of yellow gold work, having a clasp upon it of the eyelid of a black sea-horse, and a tongue of yellow gold to the clasp. Upon the head of the knight was a bright helmet of yellow laton, with sparkling stones of crystal in it, and at the crest of the helmet was the figure of a griffin, with a stone of many virtues in its head, and he had an ashen spear in his hand, with a round shaft, coloured with azure blue, and the head of the spear was newly stained with blood, and was overlaid with fine silver."—pp. 413–14.

PWYLL PRINCE OF DYVED.

"He saw a horseman coming towards him upon a large light grey
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steed, with a hunting-horn about his neck, and clad in garments of grey woollen in the fashion of a hunting garb."—pp. 38-9.

"With them came in likewise the Queen, who was the fairest woman he ever yet beheld, and she had on a yellow robe of shining satin."—p. 42.

THE DREAM OF MAXEN WLEDIG.

"The garments of the youths were of jet black satin, and chaplets of ruddy gold bound their hair, whereon were sparkling jewels of great price, rubies and gems, alternately with imperial stones. Buskins of new Cordovan leather on their feet, fastened by slides of red gold." p. 279.

"He saw a hoary-headed man, in a chair of ivory, with the figures of two eagles of ruddy gold thereon. Bracelets of gold were upon his arms, and many rings upon his hands, and a golden torquis about his neck, and his hair was bound with a golden diadem."—p. 279.

"A vest of white silk was upon the maiden, with clasps of red gold at the breast, and a surcoat of gold tissue was upon her, and a frontlet of red gold upon her head, and rubies and gems were in the frontlet, alternately with pearls and imperial stones, and a girdle of ruddy gold was around her."—pp. 279-80.

SUPERSTITION.

AN esteemed Correspondent sends us the following, which we have much pleasure in inserting:—

It is one of the practical results, one of the objects of the *Cambrian Journal*, and one which has commended itself to me, and engaged my sympathy, viz., to bring down the mythical and superstitious to the practical, real, and historical, and thus to elicit truth; to detach from the myths of time the memorials of the past, and to clear by research, comparison, and analysis the bright outlines traced by the march of ages in the generations of the world,—as the same law draws up the clouds and mists which obscure and conceal the grand mountain ranges, leaving only delicate vapours to enhance the beauty of the projecting crags.

It was my effort, in a former article, to take from magic its pretended supernatural character, and to show

that it was merely the effect of the power of knowledge over ignorance: this in contradistinction to miracles, which are the suspension, changing, or wielding the laws of nature by an Almighty and Creative Being, either for the purpose of destruction or production.

Now, I should like to draw the attention of the readers of the *Cambrian Journal* to the *Popular Tales of the Western Highlands*, a book constructed on the same basis, and carried on with the same views.

First, It points out the causes of the superstitions, legends, and fairy stories there, in the relics and shadows of bygone and primitive races; and, *Secondly*, In the introduction of new inventions, producing marvellous effects.

Surely the production of steel must have produced marvellous stories of the feats of "the white sword of light," when before stone was the only material where-with weapons were made.

It may be interesting, as an illustration on the first head, to give the views of Mr. Crofton Croker (author of the *Fairies of Ireland*) on the superstitions concerning the mermaid. He told me that he felt convinced that they had arisen from the shadowy recollections left of the old northern fishermen. He said that the canoes in which they went out singly were so made as to be covered over except where the man sat, and turned up in this form;¹ and that such canoes had been dug up in Scotland. That these fishermen wore long hair, which, in the cold and freezing atmosphere clotted together, and which required combing, for which they were always provided with combs, and also with polished mirrors, formed by the backs of enormous bosses, with which they fastened their long cloaks. All these articles have, at different epochs, been discovered in such situations under ground as to bear out this theory.

This notion, so far from detaching poetry from the

¹ Our correspondent inserts a sketch of a man in canoe here, which has very much the appearance of a mermaid, but which, for want of a woodcut, we are obliged to leave out.

name of mermaid, to my mind gives to what is vague and visionary a real, truthful feeling, and therefore a poetical halo to the whole. What can be more poetical than calling up the recollection of these heroes of the waves, with all their perils, their hopes and fears, their family farewells and family reunions, their necessities and their resources? The sword of light, the comb, and the stone arrows, are all alluded to in the *Popular Tales*; in the Introduction, and in the Tales themselves, they make a great figure.

G. T.

February 13, 1861.

THE TRADITIONARY ANNALS OF THE CYMRY.

CHAPTER XXIV.

THE RURAL ARTS.—POLITICS.

THE Cymry, as we have already seen, were settled in the Isle of Britain under the guidance and direction of Hu Gadarn, who in the Triads is said, moreover, to have been “the first who disposed them into clans and retinues”¹ (*clud a gosgordd*). In “the Stanzas of the Achievements,”² by the Blue Bard of the Chair, what he did in this respect is recorded as follows:—

“The achievement of Hu Gadarn was forming social order³
For the Cymry of the Isle of Britain,
For their removal from Deffrobani.”

Hu Gadarn exercised this authority in virtue of his age—being the patriarchal head of the whole community. But with it also was combined superior wisdom, which would not fail to insure a more ready compliance with his orders on the part of his countrymen. The patriarchal system continued until the time of Prydain;—

¹ Triad 57, Third Series.

² Iolo MSS. pp. 262, 669.

³ Gymmrhain—Cymmraint; having equal privilege.

“before that period there was no justice but what was done through courtesy, nor law except the oppression of the strongest.”⁴ When Prydain flourished, there were three different colonies established in the island—the Cymry, Lloegrwys, and Brython, and though they were thus settled “by mutual consent, in peace and tranquillity,” they were, nevertheless, independent of one another, and had their respective customs. It was, therefore, necessary to meet this state of things—to consolidate the tribes, and to bring them to acknowledge one monarch (*unben*). Accordingly,—

“The first consequent step was to establish a sovereignty, and with that view they enjoined the heads of kindred among the Cymry to hold federation and confederation, and to confer the eldership of sovereignty upon him whom they should find to be the head of the nobility; and Prydain, son of Aedd Mawr, was found to be the head of the nobility. He was a man possessed of wisdom, bravery, justice, and brotherly kindness; and in virtue thereof he was invested with the monarchy of the Isle of Britain, which thus constituted the bond of government.”⁵

The sovereign power rested of primitive right in the Cymry. “No one has any claim to the island but the nation of the Cymry, for they first possessed it.”⁶ It was in virtue of this power accordingly that they, through their hereditary chief, assembled a national convention. With reference to the confederation of the three aboriginal colonies, the Triads thus speak:—

“Each of the three is entitled to the prerogative of sovereignty; but all are subject to the monarchy, and the jury of country, and its government, according to the system of Prydain, son of Aedd Mawr. It appertains to the nation of the Cymry to confer the monarchy, according to the jury of country and nation, in virtue of primary privilege and claim. And it is in right of this system that every country in the Island of Britain is entitled to a sovereignty: and in right of the jury of country is every sovereignty. Wherefore it is proverbially said,—The country is stronger than the lord?”⁷

⁴ Triad 4, Third Series.

⁵ The Roll of Tradition and Chronology, *apud* Iolo MSS. pp. 47, 427.

⁶ Triad 1, Third Series.

⁷ Triad 2, *id.*

The system established by Prydain, or rather by the verdict of a national congress, which was held in his time, does not seem to have suffered any material modification in its general character subsequently. The Laws of Dyvnwal Moelmud give us a more clear insight into some of its details, and enable us to understand better how it was adapted to existing circumstances. By the help of these, as well as of other documents, we will here take a concise survey of the ancient government of the Cymry only; our subject not requiring that we should notice that of any other state. We are told:—

“There are three columns of a social state: the kingly office; jury of country; and judicature.”⁸

The Triads add that these were “according to the system of Prydain, son of Aedd Mawr.”⁹

I.—The kingly office, or *teyrnedd*. This seems to have been a development or expansion of the patriarchal authority, adapted to a large and growing community. Every state had its own sovereign, who was hereditary, being the nearest of kin to the original founder, or progenitor of the tribe. His duty was to enforce a respect for the laws within his territory, by punishing transgressors, and affording protection and encouragement to his loyal and faithful subjects.¹ In short he was regarded in the light of a father to his people, and they were deemed as his children, and brothers one to the other, as it is expressed in the following Law Triad:—

“Three mutual bonds of a country and kindred: paternity; filiation; and fraternity: that is, paternity is the kingly office, caring, and regulating, and providing for the fair support of a community; filiation, acting in obedience to the paternity, for the sake of order and just government; and fraternity in unity

⁸ Ancient Laws and Institutes of Wales, v. ii. p. 482. In another place (p. 488) we have “Three indispensables of the social state: a lord, a king; jury of country; and judicature.”

⁹ Triad 3, Third Series.

¹ “Three splendid honours of the kingly office: protection of faithful subjects; the punishment and riddance of evil-doers; and riddance of ignorance between trueman and trueman, and securing just judgment between them.”—*Ancient Laws, &c.*, vol. ii. p. 484.

of intention with the other two in their respective stations, mutually aiding towards strengthening the polity of a country and kindred, and the regulating kingly office.”²

The “oldest in seisin” of the princes of the several states, as was the prince or sovereign of Siluria, the direct descendant of Hu Gadarn, was deemed king paramount, (*brenhin penrhaith*³), king of all Cymru (*brenhin Cymru oll*), king of Cymru universally (*brenhin Cymru benbaladr*⁴), and chief ruler (*penteyrnedd*). He had the same authority over the whole island as each regulus had in his own territory. He could not, however, of himself make a new law even in his own state or territory, though he might levy supplies until the states assembled, which henceforth granted them. He had the right and power of convening a general council.

“The supreme king is to agitate and form the jury of a federate country, which is called a conventional session, and the session of co-country, and the session of federate convention, and general session, and the general jury of the Cymry.”⁵

Not but that the lord of a territory, (*arglwydd cyvoeth*), and the chief of kindred, (*pencenedl*), could also “agitate the country;”⁶ but he mainly so; “the ruler of paramount right” was “to raise the mighty agitation,” and “his word was superior to every other word in the agitation of the country.”⁷

Sometimes at a general congress thus summoned, one of the other sovereign princes would be temporarily invested with the supreme power, as better qualified than

² Ancient Laws, &c., vol. ii. p. 486.

³ “A paramount king is a king, or prince, who has the oldest title of possession of the kings of a federate country.”—*Ibid.* p. 500. *Penrhaith* means literally the head of the jury. He was the principal swearer, or the one that first took the oath.

⁴ “The oldest having title of possession is called king of all Cymru, and king of Cymru universally.”—*Ibid.* p. 502.

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ Three agitations of country, whether for jury or otherwise it may be: by sovereign, or lord of a territory; by chief of kindred; and by representatives; that is, by the announcement or word of one or other of these three.—*Ibid.* p. 542.

⁷ *Ibid.* p. 496.

the hereditary chief ruler, to meet an emergency, whether of a civil or military kind, that might have arisen. The ruler elected on such an occasion was called conventional monarch, (*unben dygynnull*,) and juridical monarch, (*unben rhaith*,) and the special name of war king, (*catteyrn*,) was given to him who was elected commander-in-chief of the army. The names of a few that were invested with paramount sovereignty in a national convention are recorded in the Triads. Thus, Prydain, son of Aedd Mawr, Caradog, son of Bran, and Owain, son of Maxen Wledig, are styled the "three conventional monarchs of the Isle of Britain;" the second being specially invested with "the war sovereignty (*catteyrnedd*) of the Isle of Britain, for the purpose of restraining the assault of the men of Rome."

"They were called the three conventional monarchs, because they were invested with that privilege in a convention of country and co-country, within all the boundaries of the nation of the Cymry—a convention being held in every territory, and comot, and cantred, in the Isle of Britain, and its subordinate islands."⁸

Again, Casswallon, son of Lludd, son of Beli, son of Mynogan, Caradog, son of Bran, son of Llyr Llediaith, and Owain, son of Maxen Wledig, are ranked as "the three juridical monarchs of the Isle of Britain; that is to say,—the monarchy was conferred upon them by the jury of country and nation, when they were not elders."⁹

This view as to the occasional election of a chief ruler in a national congress is fully borne out by the language of Cæsar, in reference to Cassivellaunus (Caswallon); for, in his account of the invasion of Britain, he remarks that "the whole command and administration of the war in the latter country was, by common consent, (*communi consilio*,) entrusted to Cassivellaunus."¹ Tacitus, likewise, if he does not refer to the same custom, certainly points to the existence of a king paramount, when he imputes to Caractacus an expression which he made use of in his speech at Rome, to the effect that he "com-

⁸ Triad 34, Third Series.

¹ De Bell. Gall. lib. v. c. xi.

⁹ Triad 17, *id.*

manded many nations," (*pluribus gentibus imperitantem*).²

It is probable, moreover, that Dion Cassius alludes to a similar state of things when he speaks of the tribes which Plautius conquered as not being "independent," but "under the authority of other kings."³

II.—Jury of country, or *rhaith gwlad*. The jury was composed of chiefs of kindred, representatives or wise men, elders, the lord of a territory, and king paramount. This may be gathered from various parts of the Laws of Dyvnwal Moelmud; let the following suffice:—

"The three pillars of the jury of a country, of whatever kind it may be: the sovereign of a federate country, or the lord of a territory; chiefs of kindred, and elders of kindred, and wise men of a country, or representatives, verified as to privilege, by the silent vote of kindred, or by systematic ballot of elder upon elder."⁴

The chief of kindred (*pencenedl*), was "the oldest efficient man in the kindred to the ninth descent," and spoke for his kindred.⁵ The representative (*teisbantyle*), was a person selected for his wisdom and knowledge, by a jury of his kindred, to assist the chief of kindred in every juridical assembly.⁶ The elders (*henaduriaid*) were to consider the respective statements of plaintiff and defendant in a suit for landed property, and report to the judge their opinion as to which deserved the most credence. There appear to have been seven of them attached to each kindred or clan.⁷

² Tac. Annal. lib. xii.

³ Dio. Cass.

⁴ Ancient Laws, &c., p. 542. The king paramount was the one who mainly summoned a jury, and took the oath first, answering in this respect to the modern foreman of a jury.

⁵ "His privilege and office are to move the country and court in behalf of his man; and he is the speaker of his kindred in the conventional jury of country and co-country, and it is the duty of every man of his kindred to listen to him, and for him to listen to his man."—*Ibid.* p. 516.

⁶ He is a man of the kindred who shall be chosen on account of his wisdom and literary knowledge, and to be chosen by ballot, or silent vote of the elders of the kindred.—*Ibid.* p. 536. See also p. 516.

⁷ *Ibid.* p. 558.

A national jury was to consist of three hundred sworn men, whilst a jury of court varied in number from seven to fifty.

“There are three kinds of jury of law; the sovereign jury of convention of kindred of country and co-country for lawgiving, by enacting, or abrogating, or improving of law, and which is called the jury of three hundred men; thirdly, the jury of court, and that is by judges or elders of a country or kindred, under the protection and under the privilege of the court that shall give it, from seven persons unto fifty persons.”⁸

III.—Judicature, or *yingneidiaeth*. The positions and duties of justices are thus related,—

“There are three kinds of judges; a judge of the superior court is one, and he is to be the chief adviser and the chief arbiter to the kingly office of the territory, and is to be incessantly along with the king, or lord of the territory, as law remembrancer to him, in order to judge rightly what shall be brought before [the court], and his function as a justiciary of the whole kingdom within its boundaries; second, the judge of a comot, and to him pertains the holding of a court, and to keep a record of law, and to promulgate it; and the court of the comot is to take place where there shall arise any plaint or claim, and there the judge is to hold it, and hear pleadings, for the law says, it is best decided where it is seen; the third judge is a justice by privilege, an owner of land; and he is a man of the court in a jury, and in the joint verdict of a comot and hundred, in Dyved, and Morganwg, and Gwent; for every efficient owner of land is a justice, according to the custom of those countries, and in judgment there ought to be not less than seven of such justices, and from that to the number of fifty men, and their verdict is called the jury of court.”⁹

This Triad implies a variety in the form and constitution of some of the provincial courts of justice, the which indeed is asserted, and more fully explained, in another,—

“Three courts of country and law variously constituted, in respect to the power and description of the men of the court and its officers: one of Powys; one of Caerleon-upon-Usk, or the one of Glamorgan and South Wales; and one of Gwynedd. Nevertheless, the same body of social jurisprudence extends over those three countries; to wit, conventional session of country and federate country in jury; and in no other manner is it per-

⁸ Ibid. p. 544. See also pp. 528, 560, 562.

⁹ Ibid. p. 562.

mitted to make laws in Cymru; for there is no privilege, by right of law and social jurisprudence, for the one or the other of the countries to make a law but in connection with the rest. The usage of Powys is a mayor, a chancellor, one judge, as a judge of office, a priest to write the pleadings, and an apparitor; and there are no other men of court and offices, according to usage beyond memory and hearing of the country and kindred, in Powys. Court of country and law in Gwynedd is constituted in this manner,—to wit, the lord of the comot, unless the prince be there himself, a mayor, a chancellor, one judge by office, the priest of Clynog, or the one of Bangor, or the one of Penmon, to write pleadings, and an apparitor. The court of South Wales, or that which was originally the court of Caerleon-upon-Usk, the prince, or the king, and in his stead, when he is not there, the lord of the cantrev, or the comot, and along with him a mayor, a chancellor, a clerk of court to write the pleas and record of court, and an apparitor, and several justices or judges. Every landowner, being a lawful chief of household, is a justice or judge in South Wales, Morganwg, and Gwent; and the number of justices from seven to fourteen, and thence to twenty-one, and thence to fifty men; and their judgment is called the verdict of country. In Powys and Gwynedd there is one judge by office; and in the countries of South Wales, to wit, Ceredigion, Dyfed, Morganwg, and Gwent, there are several justices by privilege, that is, by privilege of land and household; and there a justice, or judge by office, is not required, for the justices are chosen by the silent vote of the elders and chief of kindred. It is said that in South Wales, a court can be composed of these three; to wit, the king, or the lord of the comot in his stead, a chancellor, being a clerk, and several justices; and one or other of the justices executes the office of apparitor in the court, or the chancellor executes it.”¹

This Triad, in its present guise, is obviously of a much later date than is the era of Dyvnwal Moelmud. Nevertheless, some of its expressions refer to days long gone by, and clearly imply that the practices in question were but adapted and modified constitutions of the ancient usage. Such is that in reference to the court of Powys,—“There are no other men of court and offices, according to *usage beyond memory and hearing of the country and kindred.*”

¹ Ibid.

CHAPTER XXV.

THE RURAL ARTS.—MEDICINE.

MEDDYGINIAETH, or the art of healing, among the primitive Cymry, is attributed to their sages, or Gwyddoniaid, and they seem to have practised it mainly, if not wholly, by means of herbs. Indeed, botanology, or a knowledge of the nature and properties of plants, is enumerated as one of the three sciences which primarily engaged their attention—the other two being theology and astronomy, according to the following Triad:—

“The three pillars of knowledge with which the Gwyddoniaid were acquainted, and which they bore in memory from the beginning: the first, a knowledge of divine things, and of such matters as appertain to the worship of God, and the homage due to goodness; the second, a knowledge of the course of the stars, their names and kinds, and the order of times; the third, a *knowledge of the names and use of the herbs of the field*, and of their application in practice, in medicine, and in religious worship. These were preserved in the memorials of voice and tongue, in the memorials of vocal song, and in the memorials of times, before there were regular bards of degree and chair.”¹

Most of the nations of antiquity pretended to derive the medical art immediately from their gods. It does not appear, however, that the Cymry ever went so far as to claim for it a divine origin, except in regard to its elementary principles, though the practice of it was confined to the priesthood. In this latter respect, also, they differed from many old and powerful races. The most ancient physicians we read of in history were those who embalmed the patriarch Jacob by order of his son Joseph.² Moses styles these physicians servants to Joseph, whence we are sure they were not priests, for in that age the Egyptian priests were in such high favour, that they retained their liberty, when, through a public calamity, all the rest of the people became slaves to the king. In Egypt, then, religion and medicine were not combined together. That the Jewish physicians, as a class, were

¹ MS., Llanover Collection.

² Genesis, l. 2.

absolutely distinct from the priests, is also very certain; for when King Asa was diseased in his feet, "he sought not to the Lord, but to the physicians."³ It would appear that such, likewise, was the case with the heathens who dwelt near the Jews, as may be inferred from what is recorded of Ahaziah, King of Judah; when he sent messengers to inquire of Baal-zebub, god of Ekron, concerning his disease, he did not desire any remedy from him or his priest, but only to know whether he should recover or not.⁴

But among the Cymry, medicine, as, indeed, all branches of knowledge, was centered exclusively in the Gwyddoniaid until the time of Prydain, that is, until the primitive system was divided into the three orders of Bards, Druids and Ovates. It was to the Ovates more especially that the studies and application of terrestrial and natural sciences, such as the one which now engages our attention, were from henceforth entrusted.

In the Laws of Dyvnwal Moelmud, "*medicine, commerce, and navigation,*" are styled "the three civil arts," each having "a peculiar corporate privilege," which privilege is stated to be "by the grant and creation of the lord of the territory, authenticated by the judicature, and distinct from the general privileges of a country and kindred."⁵ At that time, then, it is clear that the healing art was protected and encouraged by the state—a fact which, whilst it indicates some progress in the knowledge of medicine, tells much in favour of the humanity and peaceful habits of the people in general.

The classical writers of Greece and Rome, as soon as they are in a position to address us, bear witness in a greater or less degree to the antiquity of medicine among the Cymry, and in that respect support the general correctness of our traditions. The physical researches of the Bards and Druids seem to have caught their especial attention. "The soothsayers," says Strabo, "are sacrificers and physiologists (*φυσιολογοι*). The Druids, in addition

³ 2 Chron. xvi. 12.

⁴ 2 Kings, i. 2.

⁵ Ancient Laws and Institutes of Wales, ii. p. 515.

to *physiology*, practise ethic philosophy.”⁶ Nature, both external and human, causes and effects, diseases and their antidotes, all came under their cognizance, and in their hands underwent a complete and practical investigation. Cicero informs us that he was personally acquainted with one of the Gallic Druids, Divitiacus the Æduan, a man of quality in his country, who professed to have a thorough knowledge of the laws of nature, including, as we may well suppose, the science of medicine.⁷

Pliny enumerates some of the plants most in repute among the Britons for their medicinal properties. He mentions the misletoe, and observes that in Druidical language it signified, “all heal,” *omnia sanantem*⁸—a name indicative of the efficacy which it was supposed to possess; and it is remarkable, as corroborative of his assertion, that *oll iach* is to this day one of the names by which the plant in question is known to the Cymry.

Another plant mentioned by Pliny, is the selago,⁹ a kind of club moss,¹ resembling savine, which, according to him, the Druids much admired for its medicinal qualities, particularly in diseases of the eyes.

The samolus, or marshwort,² is said also to have been greatly used by them to cure their oxen and swine.³

Cymric botanology comprehends several plants, which, either by name or tradition, are associated with the art of healing, and may be referred purely to druidical times, or, at least, to times when the bardic college enjoyed the protection of the state. Such are the derwen vendigaid, or vervain, the symbol of Alban Hevin, as the misletoe

⁶ Geograph. lib. p. 275.

⁷ “Ea divinationem ratio ne, in barbaris quidem gentibus neglecta est; siquidem, et in Galliâ, Druides sunt, e quibus ipse Divitiacum Aeduum, hospitem laudatoremque, cognovi; qui et naturæ rationem, quam physiologiam Græci appellant, notam esse profitetur, et, partim auguriis, partim conjecturâ, quæ essent, futura dicebat.”—*Cic. de Div. l. 1.*

⁸ Hist. Nat. lib. xvi. sect. 95.

⁹ Lib. xxiv. s. 62.

¹ *Lycopodium selago*, or upright fir moss.

² *Samolus valerandi*, or water pimpernel.

³ Hist. Nat. lib. xxiv. s. 63.

was of Alban Arthan, arian Cor, arian Gwion, bogail Gwener, boled Olwen, Bronwen, cerddinen, clych Enid, eirin Gwion, golch Enid, llys y dryw, meillionen Olwen, pumbys yr alban, yspyddaden, with several others.

CHAPTER XXVI.

THE RURAL ARTS.—COMMERCE.

It is not a little remarkable, that external authorities confirm in a great measure the statement of our own traditions, to the effect that the Cymry had established a commercial intercourse (*newidyddiaeth*) with other nations even before they possessed a "system of sovereignty," that is, in other words, before the time of Prydain. The first people that we read of as having traded with Britain were the Phœnicians, a people distinguished for their artistic skill, wealth, and enterprise. They are supposed to have become acquainted with our coasts about B.C. 1000, if not considerably earlier. Some, indeed, are of opinion, that the Cassiterides, or the British Isles, were one of the chief sources from whence even the Egyptians and Assyrians derived the tin with which they alloyed and hardened their earliest tools.¹ The Phœnicians were exceedingly jealous of all interference with their foreign traffic,² and, doubtless, under the influence of this spirit, they succeeded so well in concealing the situation of the Cassiterides from the rest of the world, that even the inquisitive Herodotus, as late as B.C. 445, confesses himself ignorant of it, further than that tin was

¹ Pre-Historic Annals of Scotland, p. 195.

² As illustrative of this feeling, Strabo (lib. iii.) relates a story of a Phœnician trading to the Cassiterides, who, when followed by a Roman vessel, wilfully ran his own ship among the shallows, exposing himself and his pursuers to the same danger, in order to prevent the discovery of this market. The Phœnician, by throwing part of his cargo overboard, made his escape; and his countrymen, approving of his conduct, indemnified him from the public treasury.

exported from those isles to Greece.³ Nevertheless, Homer, whose era is fixed by the Arundelian Marbles at B.C. 907, had culled from them just enough information relative to the character of the people, and the nature of their localities, to enable him to place among them the abodes of the Pious, and the Elysian fields of the Blest.⁴ Many of the Hebrew nation are said to have accompanied the Phœnicians in their voyages to this country. A tradition is mentioned by Norden as strongly prevalent in Cornwall, that the tin mines of that district had once been worked by the Jews. The character of the ancient tools and instruments which have been found, are supposed to confirm this notion. We know the strict friendship which, at one time, prevailed between the kings of Tyre and Judea, and the great liberality with which the latter was furnished with men and ships by Hiram, under whose authority and instructions the mariners of Solomon may possibly have visited Britain.⁵

According to Strabo, the commodities which the Phœnicians received from the Britons were tin, lead, and skins, for which they exchanged their own earthenware, salt, and brazen vessels.⁶

That it was with the aboriginal colony they mainly dealt may be inferred, not only from the early period at which their commercial transactions commenced, but also from the fact that the mining districts are found to be, for the most part, situated within the territories primarily occupied by the Cymry. How long they continued their

³ Herodot. lib. iii. c. 115.

⁴ Ὁ τοίνυν ποιητὴς τὰς τοσαύτας ἐπὶ τὰ ἐσχάτα τῆς Ἰβηρίας ἱστορικῶς, πυνθανομένου δὲ καὶ πλουτοῦν καὶ τὰς ἀλλὰς ἀρετὰς (οἱ γὰρ Φοινικεὶς ἐδήλουν τούτο) ἐνταῦθα τὸν τῶν εὐσεβῶν ἐπλάσε καὶ τὸ Ἠλυσιῶν πεδίου.—*Strabon.* lib. iii.

"That Homer had the opportunities mentioned, and that he did not neglect to improve them, will best appear by considering what he has really learned from the Phœnicians. This will be a certain proof of his having conversed with them."—*Blackwell, Enquiry into the Life and Writings of Homer.*

⁵ Thackeray's Ecclesiastical and Political State of Ancient Britain, i. p. 16.

⁶ Strabonis Geog. lib. iii.

trade with this country is not known, but it probably expired with the capture of Tyre by Alexander, B.C. 332.

The Carthaginians for some time monopolized the commerce which before they had divided with the parent country. In the geographical poem of Festus Avienus, there is an account of an expedition, undertaken by Himilco, along the shores of Spain, northward, and across the ocean to the *Æstrumnides*, "rich in tin and lead," which are universally admitted to mean the British Isles.⁷ And though the poem itself is comparatively modern, having been written A.D. 370, yet the author professes to have derived his information from Punic records of ancient date,⁸ among which might have been the very record of the expedition which Himilco is said to have deposited in one of the temples of Carthage. The opinions of the learned differ as to the date of this expedition, some referring it to so distant a period as 1000 years before the Christian era.⁹ Combining the statement, however, of Pliny, that it, as well as the expedition of Hanno, which took place simultaneously in a southern direction, occurred during the most flourishing epoch of Carthage,¹ with the internal evidence furnished by Hanno's own *Periplus*, there is no doubt that it may be dated, at least, before the reign of Alexander the Great.

The long and destructive wars which Carthage carried on with Rome called off her attention from mercantile affairs, and her commercial intercourse with Britain

⁷ *Oræ Maritimæ*, v. 94, *et seq.*

⁸ "Hæc nos ab imis Punicorum annalibus
Prolata longo tempore edidimus tibi."

⁹ "Nous croyons donc, que cette expédition, a dû précéder Hésiode de trente ou quarante ans, et qu'on peut la fixer vers mille ans avant l'ère Chrétienne."—*Gosselin, Recherches sur la Géographie des Anciens.*

¹ "Et Hanno, Carthaginis potentia florente, circumvectus a Gadibus ad finem Arabiæ, navigationem eam prodidit scripto; sicut ad extera Europæ noscenda missus eodem tempore Himilco."—*Plin. Nat. Hist.* lib. ii. c. 67.

became less frequent, until it finally ceased with the destruction of that city, B.C. 147.

The Greeks had begun to trade with Britain before the decline of Carthage. The Phocæans, who were the earliest navigators among the Greeks, had established a very flourishing colony at Marseilles, more than 500 years before the Christian era; and Pytheas, an inhabitant of that city, is said to have visited our shores about 200 years afterwards.² At that date we may suppose that traffic between the Greeks and Britain was pretty regular; but it seems to have commenced much earlier; for we find Herodotus, upwards of a century before, speaking of the Cassiterides as the places "from whence our tin comes;" and Greek coins have been found in Britain of the date of B.C. 460.³ Besides the commodities which the Phœnicians exported from this country, Strabo enumerates corn, cattle, gold, silver, iron, slaves, and dogs sagacious in hunting, as articles which were brought thence by the Greek merchants.⁴ They are stated to have been in the first instance taken to the Isle of Wight, which, at low water, could, according to Diodorus Siculus, be reached by land, thence transported to Vennes, and other ports of Brittany, afterwards conveyed overland to Marseilles, and finally exported to all parts of the world which traded with the Greeks.⁵

About the time when Herodotus lived, Dyvnwal Moel-mud wrote his Laws. In those Laws commerce (*cyrnewidiaeth*) is spoken of as an art to which certain privileges of a civil or corporate character were attached—a proof that its importance was duly recognised and appreciated by the government.

"There are three civic arts: medicine; *commerce*; and navigation: and with a peculiar corporate privilege to each of them. A corporated privilege is by the grant and creation of the lord of the territory, authenticated by the judicature, and distinct from the general privileges of a country and kindred, for the mutual

² Strabo, lib. iii. and iv.

³ Pre-Historic Annals of Scotland, p. 200.

⁵ Diod. Sic. Bibliothec. Historic. lib. v. 22. 32.

⁴ Lib. iv.

protection of regular commercial affairs, under the privilege of equity.”⁶

It appears further from the same code of laws, that that the ancient Cymry had regard, to some extent, in their commercial arrangements, to “the doctrine of protection;” for there were certain articles which could not be exported without the permission of the state.

“Three things that are not to be conveyed to a foreign country, without the permission of the country and the lord: gold; books; and wheat.”⁷

“Three things that an alien is not to sell, without the permission of his proprietary lord, lest he should want to buy them of him: wheat; honey; and horses; and where his lord shall not buy them of him, he is at liberty to sell them wherever he willeth, so that he do not sell them to a foreign country.”⁸

About a century before the Christian era, the Romans planted a colony at Narbonne, and made it the capital of their principal province in Gaul. From this time Narbonne appears to have shared with Marseilles in the trade of the British islands. Other nations of less importance followed their example, such as the Veneti, who, as Strabo observes, resolved to obstruct the passage of Cæsar into Britain, because they used it as a mart.⁹

Whilst the general tone of our authorities, both native and alien, seems to intimate that the market in which the different articles of merchandise were exchanged was held in Britain, and that they were conveyed in foreign ships, still we may not suppose that such was invariably the case. Festus Avienus, in the poem alluded to, whilst he describes the *Œstrumnides* as islands “*metallo divites stanni atque plumbi*,” rich in the metals of tin and lead, speaks also of the shipping of the inhabitants, thus:—

“In their boats, as is well known, they navigate both the stormy narrow seas, and the ocean itself, full of sea monsters. For they have not been accustomed to build ships either of the fir tree or maple; or to plank vessels with oak, as is usually done at other places; but it may be noted, for the wonder of the thing, that they always cover their barks with hides joined together;

⁶ Ancient Laws and Institutes of Wales, vol. ii. p. 515.

⁷ Ibid. p. 523.

⁸ Ibid. pp. 523, 525.

⁹ Strabo, lib. iv.

and thus using this covering of leather they often traverse the the broad seas.”¹

From this we may *infer* that they occasionally, at least, exported in native ships the produce of their own country, and perhaps brought back cargoes of foreign merchandise in return. But Pliny is more express :—

“Timæus the historian says that the island of Mictis, where tin is found, is within six days’ sail from Britain; and that the Britons navigate to it in vessels of wicker-work covered with leather.”²

Again,—

“Midacritus was the first who brought tin from the island of Cassiteris. Even now vessels of wicker-work are to be found in the British ocean.”³

Further,—

“The class of metals of the nature of lead comes next; of this there are two sorts, the black and white. The white is the most valuable, called by the Greeks *cassiteron*, and is fabulously narrated to be sought in the islands of the Atlantic Sea, and brought in vessels of wicker-work sewed round with leather.”⁴

It is quite evident that the cargoes which such vessels were calculated to carry were not considerable, and that consequently the Britons, if their commercial success depended much upon their own shipping, must have considered it necessary to meet the inconveniency resulting from the smallness of their boats by increasing their number.

A Bard, according to the rules of his order, was strictly prohibited from engaging in commerce.⁵

¹ “Notisque cymbis turbidum late fretum,
Et belluosi gurgitem oceani secant,
Non hi carinas quippe pinu texere,
Acereve norunt, non abiete, ut usus est,
Curvant faselos; sed rei ad miraculum,
Navigia junctis semper aptant pellibus,
Corioque vastum sæpe percurrunt salum.”

² Hist. Nat. lib. iv. 30.

³ Ibid. lib. vii. 57.

⁴ Ibid. lib. xxxiv. 47.

⁵ See *ante*, Chapter XX.

DRUIDISM.

CHAPTER V.

DYVNWAL MOELMUD.

WE have now arrived at a remarkable period in the history of our nation—a period in which the remains of its literature are presented to us more particularly in the form of laws. These interesting documents, or, at any rate, as many as are known to be extant, were printed A.D. 1807, in the third volume of the *Myvyrian Archaeology*. Afterwards, in 1841, they were published, with an English translation, under the patronage of Government, in a book entitled “The Ancient Laws and Institutes of Wales.”¹ Though they do not appear to have been

¹ At the end of the “*Trioedd y Cargludau*,” p. 483, is added this note:—“And they are called the Triads of the Car-motes; and Dyvnwal Moelmud, King of the Cymry, authorised them, for the purpose of showing what was right and law in a country and kindred. And Dyvnwal Moelmud was the best legislator that ever appeared; and the best in securing privilege and protection both to native and aillt, lest any one should act wrongly and unlawfully. Afterwards, Howel the Good, King of all Cymru, confirmed them, to be in force, in opposition to any that should introduce contrary judicature and contrary privileges.”

And at the end of the rest of his Laws are the following:—

“And thus terminates the Triads of Dyvnwal Moelmud, which are called triads of community and federate community, And every annalist and genealogist that would become acquainted with the privileges and customs of the country and kindred of the Cymry collectively; and the privilege of descent, and its nature by equity; and the privilege of arms, in respect of descent and territorial divisions; and the privilege and lack of privilege of aillts; such ought to know these Triads, before he can of right have an authorised degree of vocal song, in session, according to the privilege and custom of the Bards of the old Cymry.

“And I Thomas, son of Evan, of Trev Bryn, in Morganwg, transcribed this from the old booke of Sir Edward Mansell of Margam, when the year of Christ our Lord was 1685.”

In the Triads, Dyvnwal Moelmud is called one of “the three national pillars of the Isle of Britain,” because “he first reduced into system the laws, institutes, usages and privileges, of country and kindred.”—(*Triad 4, Third Series.*) He is also called one of “the

committed to writing for centuries after the Christian era, but on the contrary, to have come down orally, after the manner of the Common Law of England; yet, as no doubt they were well known to the judicial authorities, and were duly administered by them when occasions required, we have no right to suppose that the specimens which we now possess differed materially from the form in which they were at first enacted, inasmuch as they were impressed on the public mind in the shape of triads—a form which laid unusually firm hold of the memory—and were not revised in a national convention before the time of Howel the Good, we may fairly presume that they were not even verbally changed, but that the necessary adaptation to fresh circumstances, as they arose, were made in the administration of them, rather than in the substance of the laws themselves. In looking over the code, we do not see any direct and positive allusion to Christian usages, except in one passage only; and even that, since it is a kind of triple triad, shows clearly that the last clause at least had crept subsequently into the original text, or is an interpolation. But whilst it thus crept in, it did not thrust out the former portions, which still very distinctly bear about them the stamp of druidic antiquity. They are here subjoined, as they appear in their accumulated or triple character:—

“There are three crairs² to swear by: the staff of a priest; the name of God; and hand-in-hand with the one sworn to: and these are called hand-crairs. There are three other modes of swearing, to wit: averment upon conscience; averment in the face of the sun; and confirming under the protection of God and His truth. After that

three beneficent kings of the Isle of Britain,” because “he improved and amplified the institutes, laws, privileges, and usages of the nation of the Cymry, as would be right and just for all within the Isle of Britain that were under the protection of God and His peace, and under the protection of country and nation.”—(*Triad 59, Third Series.*)

² Crair is defined by T. Richards, as “what is touched with the hand by them that swear.” In the middle ages, the name was almost exclusively confined to the relics of the saints. Probably the root of the word is “gair,” “air,”—*Query*, cre-air?

were introduced: the ten words of the law; the Gospel of John; and the blessed cross."

The construction of this extract is remarkable:—"There *are* three crairs to swear by;" "there *are* three other modes of swearing;" "*after that* were introduced." The druidic modes of swearing are spoken of as being in use when the Triads were framed; and here we find that they receive the force of law. That law, therefore, must have been older than the era of Christianity.

But were the usages spoken of in the two first Triads really of a druidic character? Undoubtedly they were, if any credence is to be given to the traditions of the bards. The *staff* is thus mentioned in the "Voice Conventional of the Bards of the Isle of Britain:"—

"Every conventional bard, of whatever order he may be, shall hold in his hand at Gorsedd a *staff*, or crair-stick, of the same colour as his robe, and a fathom in length. The progressionists shall severally bear a *staff* of the three bardic colours intermixed, to indicate and denote progression. . . . If the aspirant be under protection, his *staff* shall be only half a fathom; but if he be under privilege, that is, a protected licentiate, the length of his *staff* shall be a fathom."³

And in another document which refers to the insignia of the Bards:—

"There are three general crairs: a robe; a *staff*; and a bandlet. . . . The *staff* denotes privilege."⁴

It is worthy of remark that the word "crair" is joined to "*staff*" in both these passages, as it is likewise in the Law Triad. Besides, this mode of swearing is emphatically described in the Traditions of the Bards:—

"The usage of conventional asseveration is this: to stand in Gorsedd, with a poet's *staff* in hand, look in the face of the sun and the eye of light, and to declare upon one's word and conscience."⁵

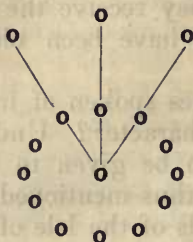
By swearing in the Name of God, we are to understand the asseveration of a Bard, as he stood within the form or figure of the Divine Name, which was, as it were, imperceptibly drawn on the Gorsedd. For, in the

³ Iolo MSS. p. 62.

⁴ Ibid. p. 217.

⁵ Voice Conventional, *apud* Iolo MSS. p. 61.

formation of the Gorsedd, it was necessary that the stones called station-stones should be placed outside the circle, towards the east, in such a way that the rays of the sun, as it arose on the equinoctial and solstitial days, should traverse them in the direction of the stone of covenant, in the centre of the circle, thus forming the mystical symbol.⁶



That portion of the circle which was taken in by the rays, was regarded by the old Bards as more sacred than the other parts, because it represented, as it were, the Name of God. The presiding Bard stood on the stone of covenant, or central stone, looking eastward; and this appears to have been the druidic mode of speaking in the Name of the Lord. All things of importance, and among them the usage of taking an oath, were carried on in this holy of holies.

The custom of swearing hand-in-hand is also laid down in the "Voice Conventional of the Bards of the Isle of Britain."

"He must put his hand in that of the presiding bard, that is, the chief of song, or chair-bard, and declare upon his word and conscience, looking the while in the face of the sun, and the eye of light."⁷

This mode of swearing seems to have been of a patriarchal, or at least of an oriental character, as may be inferred from the reference to it in Prov. xi. 21: "Though *hand join in hand*, the wicked shall not go unpunished." And, perhaps, there is an allusion to the same usage in 2 Kings x. 15: "Is thine heart right, as my heart is with thy heart?" said Jehu to Jehonadab; "if it be,

⁶ See Voice Conventional, *ibid.*

⁷ *Ibid.*

give me thine hand. And he gave him his hand," in token of affirmation, "and he took him up to him into his chariot." The custom is still observed among some of the tribes of the East, as the following extract from Bruce's *Travels* shows:—

"I cannot here help accusing myself of what, doubtless, may be well reputed a very great sin. I was so enraged at the traitorous part which Hassan had acted, that, at parting, I could not help saying to Ibrahim, 'Now, Shekh, I have done everything you have desired, without ever expecting fee or reward; the only thing I now ask you, and it is probably the last, is, that you avenge me upon this Hassan, who is every day in your power.' Upon this *he gave me his hand*, saying, 'he shall not die in his bed, or I shall never see old age.'"⁸

Inasmuch as the rite in question was thus peculiarly Eastern, we may easily suppose that our remote ancestors brought it with them here, when they first took possession of the island.

The second Triad refers to the same dispensation, but that it mentions other modes, which were probably more frequently practised in later times.

Averment "upon conscience," and "in the face of the sun," have already been brought under our notice as druidic customs. Since, also, "the protection of God and His peace" is applied in the Laws of Dyvnwal, though not exclusively, to the consecrated circles in which the Divine Being was worshipped,⁹ there can be little doubt that the "confirming under the protection of God and His truth," which is described as the third crair to swear by in the second Triad, was some ceremony, and therefore a druidic one, that was practised in those places.

But we have still stronger proof of the antiquity of the Moelmutian Code, even in its present form. In the 71st Triad we have a clear recognition of "the Druid

⁸ Bruce's *Travels*, vol. i. p. 199.

⁹ For instance,—“Three common rites of federate country and border country: a principal river; a high road; and a *resort of worship*; and those are under *the protection of God and His peace*; since a weapon is not to be unsheathed by such as frequent them, against those they may meet.”—*Welsh Laws*, &c., vol. ii. p. 517.

Bard," as an established and authorised priest, who, in virtue of his office, was "to diffuse instruction, and to demonstrate the sciences of wisdom and *religion*,"¹ which could not have been the case subsequently to the second century of the Christian era, when Lleurwg transferred the civil rights of the Druids, as such, into the hands of the Christian hierarchy.

Several internal evidences, derived from the language and phraseologies used by the compiler, may likewise be adduced in support of what has been said as to the antiquity of Dyvnwal's Laws; let one suffice. There is the word "clud," in the "Triads of the Cludau:" has any recent writer been able to discover its exact and real meaning? It must, undoubtedly, be admitted, that neither the "progression" of Probert, nor the "mote" of Aneurin Owen, conveys the general sense that runs through the several "cludau" mentioned in these Triads; and we find it difficult to believe that they ever possessed one and the same meaning, until we come to the word "caethglud" in the 33rd Triad. This is a familiar word, and at once removes our doubt that to "clud" was attached formerly a full and clear meaning, which we cannot grasp in these days. This circumstance shows evidently that the social state, under which the word was coined, and properly comprehended, must have existed several generations back, probably indeed before the time of Dyvnwal himself; for at the end of the Triads it is added:—

¹ "Three branches of the art of bardism.—Third, the Druid Bard (*Dervyddvardedd*), who is to be a presiding Bard, graduated and warranted as to wisdom and sciences; and of elocution, to demonstrate judgment and reason in respect to sciences; and his function is to be under the privilege of a grant, by the discretion and induction of a customary session, authenticated by the vote of session by ballot. And his function is to diffuse instruction, and to demonstrate the sciences of wisdom and religion, in the session of the bards, and in court and in llan, and in the household wherein his office is performed."—pp. 511—13. Llan, though now used to denote a church, seems to be of druidic origin, meaning simply an inclosure; hence the compounds *ydlan*, *gwinllan*, *perllan*, *corlan*, &c."

“And they are called the Triads of the *Cargludau*; and Dyvnwal Moelmud, King of the Cymry, *authorised* them, for the purpose of showing what was right and law in a country and kindred. And Dyvnwal Moelmud was the best legislator that ever appeared; and the best in securing privilege and protection both to native and alien, lest any one should act wrongly and unlawfully.”

Inasmuch as we infer from these and the like testimonies that the original form in which the Moelmutian code was compiled underwent subsequently no alteration, or but next to none, we may now fairly appeal to it for a description of Druidism, in the time of the royal legislator, as far as its references will apply. Very few, indeed, are the allusions of any kind which we have here to the doctrines of religion; nevertheless, the doctrine of One God is plain enough. Mention is made more than once of “God and His peace;” whilst there is not the least reference to more than one God, nor any indication that the word has ever been used in the plural number. If there had been a belief among the Cymry at this time in “gods many,” no doubt these would have been distinguished by name, and among them the supreme God Himself; and in abolishing such names, it could hardly be expected that the distinctive name of the true God would have been totally removed from every place, and under every circumstance. But here there is no sign that any particular name was ever attached to the great God,² which would indicate that He was but one of a series of divinities.

We find that they worshipped this God publicly at appointed times. One of “the three cludau of consociation” was “the congress of a kindred, at a meeting for worship on the principal high festivals.”³ They were summoned to worship by sound of horn;⁴ and permission was given to resort thither from every part of the country, without fear of opposition, “under the protection of God and His peace.”⁵

² Duw, the Cymric name of God, is compounded of *dy*, intens., and *yw*, is. HE IS—THE EXISTING.

³ Welsh Laws, &c. ii. p. 477.

⁴ Ibid. p. 479.

⁵ Ibid.

But we think that we see in these Laws a recognition of the doctrine of metempsychosis, or the transmigration of the soul. In Triads 19, 20, we thus read :—

“There are three strong punishments: *eneidvaddeu*; cutting off a limb; and banishment from the country, by the cry and pursuit of men and dogs; and it is for the king to direct which he willeth to be inflicted.”

“There are three *eneidvaddeu* punishments: beheading; hanging; and burning; and it is for the king or lord of the territory to order which he willeth to be inflicted.”⁶

Now, *eneidvaddeu* is of bardic derivation, and bears a relation to the religion of the Druids. According to the “Triads of Bardism and Usages,”⁷ a man became “*eneidvaddeu*” in three ways: *1stly*, by being punished according to law for some offence of an injurious or hurtful tendency; *2ndly*, by surrendering himself voluntarily to the demand of justice, for any injury he may have committed; *3rdly*, by giving himself up “in behalf of truth and justice, for the sake of peace and mercy.” “That is, the first will attach himself in transmigration to the condition and nature of man, his fall not being lower; and the other two will ascend in the circle of felicity.” Or, more clearly: men in these three ways obtain a release for their souls, which is, moreover, a sort of propitiation for their misdeeds, and consequently they may be considered as receiving forgiveness of the same. If a person, exhibiting the first-named character in respect of wickedness, dies a natural death, he will descend very low in the scale of transmigration; but the punishment inflicted upon him by the law is considered as equivalent to his offence, and as preventing him from falling below the point of liberty. The voluntary surrender of a man of the second description adds to the meritorious virtue of the punishment, and raises him above the state of transmigration to the circle of felicity. He who answers to the last description of character, that is, who is “slain for the good he has done,” will ascend very high in the circle of felicity.

⁶ Ibid. p. 487.

⁷ Llanover MSS.

The meaning of "maddeu"^a is to loose, or release, in reference to the liberation of the soul from the body through execution; but inasmuch as liberation of that kind is considered as necessarily implying a sort of propitiation and forgiveness for sin, it came in time to be used in its secondary sense only, as it is invariably used in the present day. It is quite a mistake to suppose that it is from the idea of loosening or remitting the sin, that the word *maddeuant* acquired its meaning. *Eneidvaddeu*, or the setting the soul at liberty by killing the body, was the circumstance that first gave it its religious import.

The Triads, which we have cited, show that this expiatory punishment was prevalent in the time of Dyvnwal Moelmud, and therefore, that the doctrine of metempsychosis formed an essential part of the druidic creed at that period. But if any one should intimate that, probably, no more was meant by *eneidvaddeu* in the Laws under consideration, than execution simply, such an explanation would necessarily assign a still higher antiquity to the said doctrine. If the term *eneidvaddeu* had already lost its original signification, it follows that the signification itself, and the doctrine which it involved, were extremely ancient. And as we meet with the doctrine in later times, it is impossible to conceive that it had been interrupted in the reign of Dyvnwal Moelmud, that is, as is supposed, about 430 years before Christ.

We are not aware of anything else in the Moelmutian code that indicates the character of religion at that time, further than the influence which it had upon society in respect of marriage and its relations. They all bear testimony to the comparative purity of Druidism.

^a The classical scholar will, no doubt, recognise a certain similarity between this word and the Greek μεθίνου.

THE EVANGELISTIC SYMBOLS.

It is now very generally admitted by the learned, that the equinoctial and solstitial signs of the zodiac were the originals of the evangelistic symbols. In other words these natural points typified the four Gospels. In a quarto book by Le Noir, published in Paris in 1811, on the *Egyptian Origin of Freemasonry*, it is stated that the winged bull, the winged lion, the winged man, and the eagle, were the guardians of the four gates of heaven, viz., the equinoxes and solstices. This clearly explains the following lines in Taliesin:—

“Johannes, Matheus,
Lucas a Marcus,
Wy a gynneil y byd,
Trwy rad yr Yspryd.”

Myv. Arch. i. p. 26.

i. e., “John, Matthew, Luke, and Mark, it is they that support the world though the grace of the Spirit.”

Now, this is Bardism, and it shows how necessary it is to be acquainted with it in order to be able to unravel the mysteries of our early poems.

BRAN.

CORRESPONDENCE.

To the Editor of the Cambrian Journal.

SIR,—In the Topographical Notices by Richard Llwyd, appended to the *History of Wales* published at Shrewsbury in 1832, I find the following statement made by him under “Llanvyllin,” p. 289:—“Thomas Price, a learned correspondent of the antiquaries of his time, had a large collection of manuscripts, which are supposed to have found their way into the Vatican Library at Rome.” A similar statement is contained in Lewis’s *Topographical Dictionary of Wales*, vol. ii. 1833, under “Llanvyllin.” It is as follows:—“Thomas Price, a member of the same family, (the Price family previously alluded to,) a man of learning, and fond of antiquarian researches, formed a valuable collection of manuscripts, which is supposed to have been deposited in the Vatican Library at Rome.”

As it appears highly desirable that some effort should be made by

our countrymen resident at Rome to ascertain the existence of any Welsh MSS. in the palace of the Pope, I will crave your permission, with the view of directing their attention to the subject, to request your correspondents in Montgomeryshire, to furnish you with some account of the said Thomas Price, the character of the MSS. alleged to have been collected by him, as well as the reason for supposing the same to have been transmitted to the Library of the Vatican.

Richard Llwyd in his Notices, p. 291, represents Thomas Price as having lived about two hundred years ago; for, in allusion to a letter written by him to Mr. Josiah Babington, respecting Welsh antiquities, he says,—“Mr. Thomas Price, of Llanfyllin, a learned antiquary about the middle of the seventeenth century.” The letter itself, however, which was published in the *Cambrian Register*, vol. i. p. 325-8, is dated “April 12th 1701.”

It appears that the Price family were members of the Church of Rome in the time of James II. And that circumstance may have had something to do with the transmission of their collection of MSS. to the library of the Pope.—I remain, &c.,

LLALLAWG.

EISTEDDFODAU—THEIR REFORM.

To the Editor of the Cambrian Journal.

SIR,—The Eisteddfod is a Cymric National Institution, and it ought not to be frittered into a nonentity by the misuse of the term, and the abuse of the thing. It is an assembly of the nation in its intellectuality. So distinctly a patriotic affair is it, that the native princes of our race thought it not an honour only, but a duty, to preside in these gatherings of the Bards and *literati*. Like many ancient usages, it has been allowed to fall somewhat into neglect, and though “custom cannot stale its infinite variety,” it has been employed in ways, at times, in places, and for purposes, quite opposed to its original and instituted design. The times have changed, and perhaps we not only are but must be changed by and with them. But so long as our one unique and National Festival shall be kept up, we ought surely to conserve and preserve its genuinely distinctive feature—a Cymric National Institution.

This seems to be a settled feeling among those who are most tenacious of native customs; and it is also, I think, the general if not universal decision to which all the most thoughtful Welshmen of our age have come. It appears to be the only possible way to rescue it from contempt, and perhaps extinction. To restore it to its analogous place in the country of its origin, and the only land which possesses such an assemblage—(as one of the ordinary out-growths of its life)—to that place which it held in the olden times, when our land was glorious among all for its intellectuality and bravery—for its power, wealth, inventiveness, genius and worth, is an aim worthy of a

patriot, and a subject of thought peculiarly appropriate in a Welshman's mind.

For many years the idea has been growing that our Eisteddfod ought to be set on its old footing, as nearly as the times will permit; and at each successive National Assembly, of late, it has formed a special topic of conversation among the frequenters and patrons of these festivals. At one or two of these, committees have been appointed to consider the matter, but hitherto they have resulted in little except an acknowledgment that "something should be done." At the Denbigh Eisteddfod, held in August last—a meeting which can truly be called a magnificent success, despite the frequency with which adjudications were delayed, and prizes withheld—a committee, composed of many gentlemen of literary eminence, personal merit, and influential position, was formed, to reconsider the whole question of Eisteddfodau. Several meetings were held in that town during the four days of the Eisteddfod; and a conjoint meeting of the committee of North and South Wales men met in Shrewsbury, as an intermediate meeting-place, in November last. It is proposed to hold another meeting on the same subject, and of the same committee, in Shrewsbury again, early in May;¹ and at that meeting it is desirable that some definite measure may be adopted. Of that committee I have the honour of being a member. Since my appointment, I have thought long and frequently upon the subject, especially in its national aspect; and I have brought together the elements of a scheme, which, I think, will be workable and advisable; and I hereby beg to submit it to public discussion, in the hope that it may lead to the adoption of some plan—this or another—which will secure and make permanent the nationality of Eisteddfodau:—

SCHEME OF A PERMANENT NATIONAL EISTEDDFOD.

First.—Eisteddfodau ought to be national, not local.

Second.—Their object ought to be the maintenance of the Welsh language, literature, customs, arts, &c.; the preservation of its records, antiquities, rights, privileges, honours and glory; the encouragement of investigations into its history, science, rites, societies, &c.; its language, literature and laws; its moral, intellectual, and industrial state, &c.; and, generally, the progressive advancement of Wales and Welshmen, with a national bent and a national fervour.

Third.—The constitution of Eisteddfodau ought to be liberal, wide, and useful.

I.—To effect this, it should consist of all classes of men. 1st, our Prince; 2nd, our gentry; 3rd, our nobility; 4th, our clergy; 5th, our merchants and manufacturers; 6th, our municipal authorities; 7th,

¹ This meeting has been held; but, as we were unable to attend personally, we know not what was decided on the occasion.—ED. CAMB. JOUR.

our people; 8th (last, but greatest), our Bards; *i. e.*, there ought to be a membership, lay or non-literary, and bardic or literary.

II.—Welsh birth, residence, connexion, sympathies, or scholarship—not Church or political principle—should form the basis of the union.

III.—The pecuniary basis should be solid, if not consolidated; *i. e.*, there ought to be definite and fixed subscriptions, payable or leviable from each separate class of members; and the sum arising from this source ought to be, if practicable, accumulated and capitalized, so that its interest only should be required for exigent or necessary expenses. This should be the endowment, not the income, of the Eisteddfodau.

IV.—The widest Welsh interests ought to be constantly kept before the mind and the thoughts of the contributors, which ought regularly to be turned to the promotion of everything essentially Welsh—not as a separating and sectionizing interest, but as a bond of union for Welshmen.

V.—All the products of the Cambrian mind, whether literary, artistic, scientific, mechanical, agricultural or moral, ought to have their due share of intelligent patronage, encouragement and aid.

With these general views, I would propose in my scheme the following constitution—the articles in and of which may be voted singly or collectively:—

That a National Eisteddfod be and hereby is created, in continuance of the time-honoured institute of our forefathers, to be called “The Eisteddfod; or, Welsh National Association, for the encouragement, maintenance, and promotion of the interests, genius, and progress of Welshmen.”

That the objects of this Eisteddfod shall be to excite and culture the genius of Welshmen in all departments of thought, activity and effort.

1. That the members shall be of two classes—lay and bardic.

2. That the lay, or non-literary members, shall consist of three classes of contributors, viz.:—*First*, subscribers of one guinea per annum; *second*, subscribers of half-a-guinea per annum; *third*, subscribers of five shillings per annum. Life memberships in these classes may be acquired by single payments of £12, £6, and £3 each.

3. That bardic members shall also be of three classes:—*First*, Ovates, paying a subscription of 2s. 6d. per annum; *second*, Bards, paying a subscription of 5s. per annum; *third*, Druids, paying a subscription of 10s. per annum.

4. That lady membership, without votes, be acquirable at half these rates.

5. That the active management of this Eisteddfod be vested in a president, five vice-presidents, a secretary, a treasurer, and a committee of thirty-six members; besides which there shall be an honorary committee, consisting of (such distinguished persons as may be determined on).

6. That each member shall have a vote in the election of the committee; the committee to elect the other office-bearers; one-third of the committee to retire yearly, but to be eligible for re-election.

7. The duties of the committee, &c., shall be to arrange for one annual Eisteddfod, to be held in the chief town of one of the counties of the Principality [or elsewhere, if specially invited by a subscribed list, of which one-third shall be Welshmen] to be determined either by ballot, by vote, or by invitation.

8. That at the Eisteddfod last held, the secretary shall announce the date, the subjects, and the prizes for the next meeting; that these be printed and circulated; and that advertisements to the same effect, in English and Welsh, be inserted in the various newspapers, to be determined on by the committee.

9. That the committee shall divide the Eisteddfod into sections, *e. g.*, literary, historic, antiquarian, scientific, artistic, moral, religious (?), political (?); and that they shall appoint examiners yearly, re-eligible, and paid in these several departments, who shall adjudicate responsibly upon all matters belonging to their departments.

10. That all lay members be admitted one day free, with their tickets, to the Eisteddfod meetings; all bardic members free throughout.

11. That besides the committee and other officials, there ought to be delegate secretaries for each county in the Principality, and for London, Liverpool, Manchester, &c., to whom voting papers, &c., should be sent, and through whom suggestions from, and correspondence with, the various members in those localities, might be forwarded.

12. That Transactions be published yearly, at the cheapest possible remunerating price to members.

13. That all other Eisteddfodau [so called] be discontinued.

14. That one-half of the committee be bardic.

15. That the committee be empowered to grant degrees—on due evidence, to be determined hereafter—given of qualification, *viz.*, Ovates, Bards, Druids, &c.; and that these be held valid honours, giving precedence in Eisteddfodau, &c.

16. That at all Eisteddfodau, two-thirds of the subjects be restricted for competition to holders of degrees.

17. That Sub-Eisteddfodau [by a determined name] may be licensed by the committee, if found advisable, under laws to be made by committee.

18. That all successes be duly registered in the Eisteddfod books, and for historic and biographic use.

So far for the general scheme; now for that regarding Bards:—

I.—That all present Ovates, Bards and Druids, be recognised and incorporated members of the Eisteddfod, on payment of a fixed fee.

II.—That each member so incorporated shall be bound to abstain from competition at any Eisteddfod, other than the National, or any sub one licensed by the committee, under pain of degradation of rank, or expulsion.

III.—That the Bards shall have the right of nomination to the committee of every succeeding graduate.

IV.—That a meeting of Bards be duly held at each Eisteddfod, for the proper ancient conferring of degrees, and the presentation of diplomas—(Fees, 5s., 10s., 21s.)

V.—That they shall have the right to recommend to the committee any matter in any section which they believe to be worthy of consideration; and that the committee shall be bound to receive and act upon any recommendation sanctioned by a clear majority of two-thirds of the graduates.

VI.—That under the new Institute the Bards shall be convened to decide upon all matters pertaining to the specialities of their respective crafts; and that the committee shall carry out in their programmes the suggestions of full two-thirds of the graduates.

VII.—That honorary degrees may be conferred—if distinctly so specified—by the general body of members, or by the committee, in their name and by their authority.

VIII.—That scholars of foreign countries, sympathizing with the Welsh, may be affiliated to the bardic class by a title descriptive thereof, *e. g.*, Ovate-French; Bard-German; Druid-Irish, &c.

IX.—That it is highly desirable that a National Welsh Library should be a main feature of the property of the Eisteddfod.

N.B.—If necessary, a Royal Charter of incorporation might be sought and obtained, so as to legitimise the objects and laws of the Eisteddfod, and to give the honours acquired in it a defined worth.

The foregoing is an outline of the scheme (differing only in so far that it is more complete from the one I submitted to the committee at Shrewsbury in November last) which pictures itself to my mind as likely to make our Eisteddfodau permanent, useful, and national—capable of fulfilling a useful end in our own day, and of rightly commemorating the manners and customs of our forefathers in earlier time.

The scheme may appear intricate and cumbersome, and it may look as if its range were too wide and too high. I have not been deterred from pursuing the thought because of this seeming objection. I believe in the greatness of my country, and that nothing that is not great will duly and fully represent its capacities, or develop, with their full maturity, the possibilities that lie latent in the Eisteddfod.

My aim has been to suggest a complete, if not a perfect scheme; and I should like the matter to be thoroughly discussed, and, if possible, settled finally. For this purpose I beg, with your leave, to place this series of suggestions before your readers, that they may reflect on the subject, and bring to the consideration of the question some definite proposal. If my scheme should only succeed in calling forth other and better ones, good will be done. All I wish, in the meantime, is, to lay before my countrymen such a plan as seems likely to me to supply a want all intellectual men feel, and to suggest

a means by which the customs of the "grey fathers" of the Cymric race may be handed down to their posterity with the improvements, rather than the abuses, of Time incorporated with them.

I am, Sir, your obedient Servant,
WILLIAM MORRIS (*Gwylim Tawe*).

Stamp-Office, Swansea, April 22, 1861.

MISCELLANEOUS NOTICES.

TENBY CHURCH.—During the progress of the restoration of the South Chapel of this Church, a Decorated piscina was discovered in the south wall.

TENBY OLD CHURCH CLOCK.—The old clock has been taken down this spring, in order to be replaced by a new one. From the following inscription on the face of the old sundial, "Davies of Miniver With the Town Clock *fecit* 1726," the clock appears to have been made by a clever country mechanic, and self-taught clockmaker, who lived near Slebech, Pembrokeshire.

TENBY TOWN WALLS.—We much regret to have to record the destruction of a portion of the town wall, extending about twenty feet to the north-west of the square tower which overhangs the south cliff, and forming the south-east termination of the town wall. The battlements have been entirely removed, and the wall lowered about four feet. It appears the owner of the adjoining houses, being a member of the Town Council, at a quarterly meeting took advantage of the absence of the Mayor, and the sparse attendance of members, to obtain permission for this act of Vandalism. We are glad to learn that the people of Tenby are justly indignant at this wanton destruction of a portion of their fine old town walls.

DISCOVERY OF ORIGINAL LETTERS.—There has recently been discovered, in an old house in Denbighshire, a valuable collection of original letters, many of which are from and to Margaret, Queen of Henry VI.; several are addressed to the Duke of Bedford, and some to the Duke of Burgundy. The fact that Katherine of France, the mother of Henry, married Owen Tudor, a Welsh knight, renders the genuineness of these letters all the more probable.

CROMLECHS IN CORNWALL.—At a meeting of the Archæological Institute, held on December 7, 1860, Mr. James Yates offered some observations on Cromlechs in Cornwall, locally termed "Quoits." He presented to the society drawings, executed by himself on a large scale, representing the following remarkable examples:—Chûn Quoit, on a tumulus near Chûn Castle; the Trevehe Stone, a cromlech of

large dimensions, one and a half miles north of St. Clear; also the cromlech on the hills between Maidstone and Rochester, in Kent, known as Kits-Cotty House.

SEPULCHRAL MOUND AT PENHOW.—At the above Meeting of the Archæological Institute, Mr. Octavius Morgan gave a short notice of an exploration lately made under his direction at Penhow, Monmouthshire. The sepulchral mound is situated near a very remarkable spring of water, which gushes forth from the soil in a copious stream. The barrow measured about 110 feet in diameter, and nine feet high. On cutting a wide trench across it, regular strata of fine loam were apparent, taken probably from the adjacent ground. No remains of bones, or any charred wood were found. A bronze blade or dagger was brought to light, also the moiety of a whetstone, and numerous flint flakes, or chippings, which were brought for inspection.

PRIORY CHURCH, BRECON.—Mr. Mason, of Tenby, has announced his intention to publish, by subscription, a History and Description of this Church, by Mr. Cobb. It is intended the work shall contain,—*1st*, A short statement of the Chronology of the Lordship of Brecon, and of the Priory, from the Conquest to the present time. *2nd*, A History of the Fabric, with a Description of it, by E. A. Freeman, Esq., M.A., and the Report of G. G. Scott, Esq., R.A.; showing what it was, has been, is, and is intended to be; with notes of the restoration movement, and a list of its promoters. *3rd*, A Description of the Crosses, Sculptured Stones, Tombs, and Monuments, with (for the sake of preservation) copies of all the recent inscriptions. The illustrations will comprise a ground-plan, by Mr. Freeman, showing the dates of the different portions; exterior and interior views, by the late Major Davis; drawings of the font, and of the more ancient monuments, and of as many of the beautiful floor crosses and coffin-lids, from rubbings made for the purpose, lithographed by Messrs. Day & Son, as the subscription list will justify. The proposed volume will be octavo, with not less than 12 pages of illustrations; bound in cloth, the cost will be 7s. 6d.

REVIEW.

ST. PAUL IN BRITAIN; or, the Origin of British as opposed to Papal Christianity. By the Rev. R. W. MORGAN. Oxford and London: J. H. & J. Parker. 1861.

No one can deny that Mr. Morgan is a vigorous and pleasing writer. Nevertheless, there are some who, while they fully admit his poetical powers, and his skill as a writer of fiction, will not allow him to be altogether a safe and trustworthy historian. Indeed, we are

ourselves disposed to regard him as somewhat too hasty and credulous, and, perhaps, apt to colour his facts too highly, a fault from which even the great Macaulay was not free. Still we are convinced that he is perfectly honest; and we have no doubt that the suspicions of his adversaries are mainly due to the strangeness of the sources whither the patriotic bent of his mind frequently leads him in search of authorities, contrary to the stereotyped dogmas of popular English history. To such as have been taught from their youth to consider Augustine the Monk as the founder of the Church of England, the very title of the little volume before us must sound strange,—“St. Paul in Britain!” It requires a strong effort of the mind to realize the idea. And yet Mr. Morgan adduces a respectable array of authorities in support of the point which he is endeavouring to establish; and it is to be hoped that his researches will not be overlooked, but that they will be taken up and pursued further by others who are fond of investigating the ecclesiastical antiquities of Britain. Stillingfleet and Usher did much in dispelling the mist that hung over the early history of the British Church, and in tracing its origin to apostolic times; but since their days a good deal of fresh evidence, derived principally from Cymric records, has seen the light, and ought to be taken into account in any future examination of the subject.

Mr. Morgan has divided his work into five chapters. The first treats of the religions of the world at the rise of Christianity; their antagonism and common ground with the new faith; Greece and its philosophers; the Jews; the influence of the Messianic idea; the Eastern religions; Rome. The second treats of the religion of Britain and Western Europe; Druidism, the Gentile preparation for Christianity, its principles and influences. The third describes the historic position of Britain and the Roman empire at the commencement of the Christian era. In the fourth chapter we have an account of the royal family at Rome; the Arimathean, or first introduction of Christianity into Britain; Simon Zelotes and Aristobulus. The fifth gives us the tracings of the ancient royal Church of Britain to its apostolic foundations; St. Paul in Britain; his connection with the royal family of Britain; his burial in their family sepulchre.

It is not our province to make any observation on the strong Protestant bias of Mr. Morgan's mind, or of the favourable manner in which he contrasts some of the Gentile schools of religion with Judaism. His description of British Druidism, derived as it is mainly from native documents, is far in advance of that which is founded on classical authorities, and which properly refers to the confessedly more corrupt system of the Continent. Still, Mr. Morgan's acquaintance with our records has not been sufficiently perfect to keep him from falling into some errors. For instance, he says that the great festivals of Druidism were three; the vernal, the autumnal, and the midwinter; whereas, in truth, they were four, occurring on the equinoxes and solstices. We trust, however, that his delineation, such as it is, will be the means of rousing attention to a subject that has hitherto been

but very little understood ; it is just what will excite the curiosity and research of German philosophers.

Our author is particularly fond of the Arimathean theory ; and it must be confessed that he has made out a strong case in its favour. According to him, Joseph of Arimathea was the first that taught the doctrines of the Gospel to our British ancestors.

"Christianity was first introduced into Britain by Joseph of Arimathea, A.D. 36-39 ; followed by Simon Zelotes, the apostle ; then by Aristobulus, the first Bishop of the Britons ; then by St. Paul."—p. 129.

This statement would seem to run counter of the testimony of native traditions, which represent the introduction of Christianity among the Britons as having succeeded upon the capture of Caractacus. If we bear in mind, however, that these traditions refer almost exclusively to Cymric matters, there cannot be much difficulty in reconciling the two accounts. Both may be true ; the one in reference to the Britons of Somerset, the other in reference to those of Cymru.

Our space will not allow us to give at length the several arguments and evidences which Mr. Morgan adduces in favour of the visits into Britain of Joseph of Arimathea, Simon Zelotes, Aristobulus, and St. Paul. We, therefore, hasten to quote the "conclusions" which, from the whole investigation contained in his book, he has arrived at. These are,—

"1. Before Christianity originated in Judea, there had existed from the remotest period in Britain a religion known as the Druidic, of which the two leading doctrines were identical with those of Christianity, viz., the immortality of the soul, and vicarious atonement.

"2. That this identity pointed out Britain as of all Gentile countries the one best prepared for the reception of Christianity.

"3. That the only religions persecuted by the Roman government were the Druidic and the Christian.

"4. That this common persecution by the great military empire with which Britain was engaged in incessant hostilities from A.D. 43 to A.D. 118, materially aided in predisposing the British mind in favour of Christianity.

"5. That Britain, being the only free state of Europe, was the only country which afforded a secure asylum to the Christians persecuted by the Roman governments.

"6. That a current of Christianity flowed into Britain from the East contemporaneously with the first dispersion of the Church at Jerusalem, A.D. 35-38.

"7. That the first planters of the Gospel in Britain never were in Rome at all, but came hither from the mother Church at Jerusalem.

"8. That these first planters were Joseph of Arimathea and his associates, who settled under the protection of the British king Arviragus, in the Isle of Avalon, Glastonbury, one of the druidic cors of Somerset.

"9. That among the earliest converts of Joseph and his fraternity were Gladys (Pomponia Græcina) the sister, Gladys or Claudia, and Eurgain, the daughters, and Linus, the son of Caractacus, Prince of Siluria, and military dictator of the national forces against the Romans.

"10. That the second planter of the word was Simon Zelotes the apostle, who was martyred and buried in the Roman province, probably near Caistor, in Lincolnshire.

"11. That the third planter was Aristobulus, one of the seventy, brother of

St. Barnabas, and father-in-law of St. Peter; commissioned first Bishop of Britain by St. Paul, and consecrated by St. Barnabas, the two apostles to the Gentiles. That Aristobulus was engaged in his mission in Britain when St. Paul wrote his Epistle to the Romans, some years before his first visit, or the visit of any other apostle, to Rome.

"12. That Pudens the husband of Claudia, Claudia herself, her sister Eurgain, her brother Linus, and aunt Pomponia, being converted prior to St. Paul's visit to Rome, the rest of the British royal family, Brân, Caractacus, Cyllinus, and Cynon, were converted and baptized by St. Paul himself during his detention in that city, preceding his first trial. That the palace of Pudens and Claudia was the home of St. Paul, and the other apostles; that their four children, Timotheus, Novatus, Pudentiana, and Praxides, were instructed in the faith by St. Paul; and that Linus, the brother of Claudia and second son of Caractacus, was appointed by the same apostle first Bishop of the Church of Rome, such Church meeting at that time, and till the reign of Constantine, in the aforesaid palace, called indifferently 'Domus Pudentis, Palatium Britannicum, Domus Apostolorum, Titulus, Pastor, St. Pudentiana.'

"13. That after the return of Caractacus to Siluria, St. Paul himself, following the footsteps of his bishop and forerunner Aristobulus, visited Britain, and confirmed the British Churches in the faith.

"14. That the last days of St. Paul, preceding his martyrdom at Rome, were attended by Pudens, Claudia, Linus, Eubulus, whose salutations he sends in his dying charge to Timothy, and that his remains were interred by them in their family sepulchre.

"15. That the foundations of the British Church were apostolical, being coeval, within a few years, with those of the Pentecostal Church at Jerusalem,—preceding those of the primitive Church of Rome, so far as they were laid by either an apostle or apostolic bishop, by seven years,—preceding the arrival of St. Peter at Rome, as fixed by the great majority of Roman Catholic historians (thirteenth year of Nero) by thirty years,—preceding the first arrival of the Papal Church of Rome in Britain under Augustine, by 456 years.

"16. That the British Church has from its origin been a royal one; the royal family of ancient Britain,—of whom her present Majesty, Queen Victoria, is, through the Tudors, the lineal blood representative,—being, 1. The first British converts to Christianity; 2. The founders of the first Christian institutions in Britain; 3. The chief instruments, in the second century, in the establishment of Christianity as the state religion; and in the fourth century, in the persons of Helen and Constantine the Great, the chief instruments in the abolition of Paganism, and the substitution, in its place, of Christianity over the whole Roman empire.

"17. That the spiritual or ecclesiastical head of the British Church was always a Briton, resident in Britain, amenable to British laws, and British laws only, and having no superior in the Church but Christ.

"18. That whatever may be the religious advantages or disadvantages of the union of the ecclesiastical and civil government in the person of the sovereign, such union has been, from the first colonization of our island, first in Druidic, and then in Christian times, the native British, as opposed to the foreign Papal—and, in later times, dissenting—principle of their separation."—pp. 213-216.

We have no doubt that after perusing this interesting list of conclusions, many of our readers will be anxious to know how Mr. Morgan arrived at them all. Our advice is, let them buy the book and see.

THE
CAMBRIAN JOURNAL.

ALBAN



HEVIN.

(SUMMER SOLSTICE.)

EXTRACTS FROM THE REGISTER OF SIR THOMAS
BUTLER, VICAR OF MUCH WENLOCK,
IN SHROPSHIRE.

(Made for private reference in the year 1840.)

THE following extracts from the Register of Sir Thomas Boteler, or Butler, vicar of Much Wenlock, in Shropshire, were not originally transcribed under a view of printing them, and therefore occasional liberties have been taken with the orthography. Sometimes the old spelling has been retained, and at others modernized. As the meaning and words have, however, been carefully retained, there will be little cause to regret the literal variations that may have existed between the transcript and the original manuscript. Nor indeed would it be now possible to amend any mistakes of this description, as the Register itself is believed to have been destroyed at the calamitous fire that consumed the mansion of Sir Watkin Williams Wynne, at Wynnstay, in the year 1859.

The Register was written on paper, in a clear bold hand. It contained numerous entries of christenings and burials, commencing 26th November, 1538, and ending 20th September, 1562.

Wenlock, called commonly Much Wenlock, was a vicarage belonging to the the large priory founded here originally by Milburga, daughter of Merewald, sovereign of the western parts of Mercia. It was refounded by Earl Leofric immediately before the Conquest, since he died in 1057, and subsequently established as a priory for Cluniac monks by Earl Roger de Montgomery. It will not be necessary to enter into the history of the priory of Much Wenlock, for which I have very ample materials to draw from, having intended several years ago to publish a work expressly relating to it. I shall therefore merely state that the present borough of Wenlock, or franchise, as it is termed, comprises most of the parishes that are mentioned in the present extracts, and, being formerly dependent on the mother church, a ready explanation is afforded of the motives that urged the vicar to insist on all the rites of the Church being performed at Wenlock, instead of these various other places within his jurisdiction.

As this Register embraces about eight years of the reign of Henry VIII., goes through that of Edward VI., takes in the whole of Queen Mary's, and four years of Queen Elizabeth's—a period when the most important changes were being made in the established religion of the country—such a record of the feeling of the times cannot fail to be full of interesting particulars.

It is very evident that the vicar of Much Wenlock looked with no favourable eye upon the change from the worship of the Roman Catholics to the simpler forms that displaced it in the hearts of the people. And this circumstance may probably have led him to regard the privileges of the mother church, of which he was vicar, with that extreme jealousy that is frequently exhibited in his Register.

A few words only will be necessary to explain the

authority Sir Thomas Butler assumes over the neighbouring parishes. The priory of St. Milburga had large estates in various parishes around ; and this circumstance, after no great length of time, led to the priors exercising both religious and temporal jurisdiction throughout that district of Shropshire where their possessions were situated.

CHARLES HENRY HARTSHORNE.

CHRISTENINGS.

- Jan^y 21. 153⁹. Gossibes S^r Thōs Butler Vicar of this Church and dominus Ja^s Ball monke of the Monastre of Sainte Milbgē.
 18 Febr^y Gossibes Ric^d Lawley Gent, and Johan the wif of Ja^s Fenymmer Porter of the Monastre.
 20 of the above rotten moneth was christened here Jone the doght^r of Rauf Patson Brewer to the Monastre of S^t Milb^{ghe} of this towne of Moch Wenlok.
 1538. Larden, Walton & Burton in the parish of the Holy Trinity of Wenlock.
 (Burials out of the Parishes of Broseley, Hughley, Willey, Wyke, Arlescote, Barrow, Bradley, Caloughton, Willey, Henstreys Gate in Willey.)
 Calowton within the Parish of the Holy Trinity.
 M^r Rich^d Charlton the Bailiff of the Liberties of the s^d town of Wenlock and franchises.
 The Marsh within the parish : (now in Barrow Parish.)
 Edw^d Browne Servant to my Lord Prior was married in Madeley & the Certf. entered in the book of the parish Church of Madeley.
 Buried Tho^s Corbet of the Dean in the Parish of Willey.
 John Sheppard of the Parish of Munslow married.
 Mockley in the Parish of Round Acton.
 Sherlett that part belonging to the Earl of Arundell of the Parish of Round Acton.
 The Monastery of Wenlock surrendered on the morrow of the feast of the Conversion of S^t Paul. 1539.
 Sir John Cressage late Prior of Wenlock.
 Sir Roger Stringer Parson of Hughley.
 Dudley Wyke within the parish of Stottesdowne, (not in the Franchise of Wenlock.)
 Buried out of Muchley within the Parish belonging to the Chapel of Round Acton.

A marriage out of Goose Bradley at Harley by Licence from Sir Tho^s Butler.

Buried out of the Oldfield by License of the Curate of Little Buildwas.

Wigwick within the Parish.

Buried out of Monke Hopton.

Buried out of Benthall farm under Benthalls Edge.

Buried out of Willey.

Christened out of Lawleys Cross.

Christened thro licence at Willey a person of Wenlock.

Buried from Lawleys Cross.

Wyke within the Parish.

Christened by licence of the Vicar of Stanton W^m Son of R^d Blakeway of Patten.

Sir Edward Gray L^d Powys a Gossip.

Buried here out of the Parish of Willey from Linley Green.

Married at the Chapel of Burton through licence by Sir Richard Fishwick Priest late Monk, Tho^s Wolf of the Parish of Holgate and Agnes the daughter of Rich^d Glastoke of Goosebradley of this Parish.

1539. 28th Feb. Eliz^b Minsterley buried within the Church before the image of our Lady of Pyte.

20th March buried in the body of the Cherche before the Chancell durr M^r Will^m Hatton Stuart of the Court of this Towne.

24 of June . . . Gossibbes Ric^s Charlton the Bailif of the Libties of the said towne & franchises.

BURIED.

Sep. 14 burial at the last ynd of high Masse.

Jan^y 18 Wedded at the Masse of our Lady Chapel.

Wedded at the high Masse.

1st of dec^r Will^m Hatton Stuart of the borow courte of this said towne and Marg^t the wife of Will^m More now Bailif of this s^d Borow of Wenlok.

NB. Will^m Hatton, was buried xx March following.

NB. iv. Feb^y John Bayly late Prior of Wenlok.

1540. 12 Jan^y Wylliam Son of John Sothorne Esq^r Bayliff of the lyberties of this town.

12 March thro lycens was christened at Wyllay, Agnes the dought^{er} of Ric^d Charlton of this towne of Wenlok and of Jone his wife, Gossibbes wer S^r Tho^s Butler of Wenlok aforesaid Vicar, and Maistres Agnes wif Maistr Ric^d Lacon Lord of Wyllay aforesaid, and the wife of W^m Davys of Apley Lode.

13th June aft^r the high masse Ric^d Symons of Muck hole called Symons Muck hoole, which Ric^d was at tyme of his departyng of the age of XC as he then dyd say to his Goostly ffad^r

1541. 7th & 10th of Feb^y two men convicted at the Sessions and executed, one of them refused his clergy being no Clerk.

Item, on the 7th Feb. 1541, here was buried Thomas Myles whose dwelling was at that time in Bockleton in the Parish of Milburge Stoke of and within the Franchises of this Borough of Moch Wenlock, which Thomas Myles was cast by 12 men for felony at Wenlock at a Sessions kept and holden here the same day & the day before being Monday before John Bradley the younger Bailiff of this Franchises, and Rich^d Whorde of Bridgenorth Justice of Quorum Recorder of this said franchises A^{no} Regni 33^o

¶ Memorandum that the 10th day of this instant month of Febr^y. in the year of our Lord 1541, here was buried W^m Lowe a Cheshire man born, which William was a lad of 18 years of age or thereabouts, cast by the verdict of 12 men at the s^d Sessions holden here before the s^d Justices the day as it is written in the last of the leaf next preceding, which Sessions were prorogued till fridday because of the absence of the ordinary, forasmuch as the s^d William desired the Priviledge of the Church, saying that he could read; and on fridday the 10th day of this february, when the Justices were sitting, the Ordinary Mr. George Dycher parson of Stretton, Dean of this Deanery, being ready in presence, It was found he was no Clerk, and so was put to execution of the law & buried the same day, confessing openly both in the Hall and at the place of Execution on the Edge Top that he had robbed divers persons of their goods.

Buried out of Holmere of this Parish besides Wigwyke.

Atterley in this Parish.

Buried out of Harley of these two houses which John Taylor there occupieth being of & within the precinct of the parish of the Holy Trinity of Moch Wenlock.

Richard Lee Esq^r of Oxenbold Bailiff of Wenlock.

Parish of Madeley, licence from Sir Tho^s Butler to bury Richard Laken of Willey Esq^r who died at his place in Willey in the parish Church of Harley.

Buried out of Linley.

Buried out of Hughley which is belonging to this the Mother Church of the Holy Trinity of Moch Wenlock.

Buried out of Browardesley.

8th June—Gossibbs S^r W^m Corvehill Priest late monke of S^t Millb^{he} house.

17th July—the Priorie called sometyme S^t Milburghe howse.

3^d Aug^t Gossibbs S^r W^m Bange somtyme monke of the monastrie of Sainct Milburge.

¶ 1542. Feb. 3rd Mem. that at the same time in this Chancel of the Holy Trinity or that I went to bury the Corpse of the s^d John, Sir Edmund Mychell Parson of Browardesley afores^d, in the presence of Rowland Wilcocks of the same Browardesley, willed me to give my consent that they of Browardesley might have their chapel there dedicate for the Burial there so to be had, unto whom I answered (if the law would so bear me) I would not consent to the dedicating of that their Chapel of Browardesley nor of none other annexed and depending unto this the mother Church of the Holy Trinity of Moch Wenlock.

5 Feb^r Agnes Pyner a poore woman of thage of VI score er old & above as shee sayed unto h^r gostly fad^r S^r Richard Doghty who mynistred the blessed s^ac^am^en^ts of thaltar unto her to dayes befor her departing.

17th June. John Mynsterley thrise bailiff of this borowe of Moch Wenlok whose corpus lyeth humate in this parish church of the most holy Trinite befor the first stepp to the Pulpitt before thimage of our Lady of Pitie and Elizabeth his wif lyeth ther buryed uppō the right hand of him southwards.

Gossib, Ric Lee of Oxenbolds Esq^r then Bailiff.

5 Nov. on Sunday aft^r the feste of Alhallows all Saincts in this parish Church sange his first Masse, S^r Rychard the Son of John Doughty of Burton wⁱⁿ this parish & of Julyane his wif, at whose said first Massing was offred to his use a pfeat.—(See similar entries, fol. 96, 13th Oct., 1555; fol. 102, 23rd Nov. 1556; fol. 106, 3rd Aug., 1587; fol. 110, 12th June, 1556.)

Buried out of the little house at the gate besides Lawleys Cross which house stands within the bounds and limits of this Parish of Much Wenlock.

Buried out of Willey a servant to Tho^s Poyner of Beslowe.

Mr. Rich^d Leigh Bailiff of this Franchise.

Buried out of the wood of Shirlett within the precinct of the parish belonging to the Chapel of Acton Round.

Buried out of Barowe.

Mr. Rich^d Lee of Oxenbold, Bailiff of our Franchises, and Mr. Thos. Lee his brother, Steward.

1543. Feb. 21. Here was buried out of the Almshouses John Trussingham, a Cheshire man born, an aged lame man, for on Saturday before his departing, he said unto me Sir Thomas Butler, Vicar of the Church of the Holy Trinity of Moch Wenlock, that he was of the age of seven score years, and I said it could not be so, and he was, as he said, of the age of four score years at the Battle of Blower Heath, and since that, there were three score years (count altogeder said he, and ye shall find seven score years, rather more than less,) and said also that some time he was servant to the old Sir Gilbert Talbot, Knt. at the manor of Blakemore besides Whitchurch.

March 5. Here was out of Browardesley Elizabeth Paynter buried, the daughter of James Paynter and of Agnes his wife, of Lawley, which Elizabeth was single, and departed in labouring of Child not departed from her.

Buried out of Muckhall.

Buried out of Presthope.

16 of May S^r Hugh Barker pst chapplain of the service of our blessed Lady wⁱⁿ this church.

15 Oct. Rycharde Fyshwyke pst somtyme Moncke and Sexten for the space of these thry eer and above in the monastre of S^t Milbgē whose body lieth in the Churchyard wⁱⁿ to Cloth yards to the Crosse betwixt it and the Church.

23. Jan^r Wⁱⁿ the chancell of the blessed Lady before her image, the body of Tho^s Mason pst borne wⁱⁿ this borow of Moch Wenlok, somtyme vicar of Kynlett, who resigned to Sir Alane Cliff somtyme monke of the monastre of S^t Mylburge, and the said Sir Tho^s lyeth hard unto the p^{ce}lose of the Quayre his fyett reching to tharch.

5 March Agnes daughter of John Chistoke departed, somtyme deacon or Clerk of this Church who departed of the pestilens the first day of September in the er of our Lord God M^Dxxxij who was a full honest server of the Church and taught scolers playne song & prick song full well so that the church was well served in his tyme; buryed he was in the churchyard on the knapp uppon the right hand as ye entre into the Porche abowte vij cloth yards frō the porch, whose sowle God Almighty take to m^{cy}. Amen.

1544. 30. March. Maria Barber buried from Muckhall where she sōtyme dwelled.

John Seltok who gaf unto this Church wth the consent of Julyanne his wif in their lyf tyme a crosse of Copor gilt and a Banner with a ymage of the trⁿⁱte of Silke.

13. Sep. John Gogh at that tyme Curate otherwise called Sr.

John Castle sōtyme moncke in monastre of St Milbge pre-
 3ctor in Moch Wenlok and prior of the cell in Preen, the last
 Priest that ther was whose body is buried.

5th July. Here was buried out of Posenhall, Joane the
 daughter of Thomas Child and of Alice his wife, dwelling
 there in the tenement belonging and appertaining to the
 service of our blessed Lady within the Church of the Holy
 Trinity of Moch Wenlock, which tenement was of the gift
 of John Robinson to the said service; the said Joan Child,
 single woman, of the age of 22 years, deceased and died
 upon the disease of a Canker within her mouth under the
 root of her tongue, which as her father said she chanced to
 have through the smelling of Roseflowers.

13 Sept. Item, the same day and year of our Lord above
 written here was buried out of Hopton Monachorum Sir
 John Gough, there at that time curate, otherwise called Sir
 John Castle, some time Monck in the monastery of St.
 Milburghe here in Moch Wenlock, and Prior of the Cell in
 Preen, the last Prior that there was, whose bodie is here
 buried.

A wedding at Benthall thro' Licence of Sir Thomas Butler.

The Bowre upon the Severn Banks within the limits of this
 Parish.

[The Bower Yard still exists (1841) near the Iron Bridge
 on the Wenlock side of the river, I believe in Benthall
 parish.]

3rd June. Geoffrey Smallwood hanged for felony, convicted
 at the Sessions for the Franchises and Liberties of this
 Borough. Mr. Thomas More of Larden, Bailiff. Mr. Adam
 Mytton, Justice.

A Christening from Holmer at Harley through licence.

Here was Christened out of Harley of this Parish.

Walter Knight Smith of Monk Hopton hanged for felony.

9th Feb. William Corvehill of Preen, and Elizabeth the
 daughter of John Ball of Burton, within and of this Parish
 of the Holy Trinity of Moch Wenlock, through licence
 asked, and instantly by the father and friends of the said
 woman obtained of me, Sir Tho^s Butler, Vicar of this Parish
 of Wenlock aforesaid, were married; wedded at the Chapel
 of Hughlye, by Sir John Corvehill, Curate of Preen.

Item, the 10th day of this instant month and year of our Lord
 God here was buried out of Round Acton Rob^t Weale far-
 mer there, dwelling in the Lords farm by the Chappels End
 the East of which Chappel sometime was round like a
 temple, and as it hath been said was of the Templars lands

belonging to the Lordship of Lydleys fields in Cardington Parish.

¶ In the margin—buried in our Parish Church before the door of our Lady's Chapel.

Here was buried John Dod of the parish of Little Wenlock, who was hanged here, as also Alice Glaston, 11 yrs of age, of the parish of Little Wenlock, and Wm. Harper, a tailor. A boy found dead, and thither went Wm. Fennymere the Coroner, and of the Six men of the Franchises.

N.B.—Description of the wounds and the dress.

Buried out of Willey from the Park there.

A Christening at Monk Hopton in the Chapel of St. Peter there, from Goose Bradley, by licence of Sir Tho^s Butler.

Shipton ought to bury all in Wenlock.

1545. 8 May. Rychard hasp mynstrell and servaunt to Sir Tho^s Lacon and to his son Ryc(hard) buried.

3rd June. another Convict buried.

18th Nov. another Convict buried.

¶ 1546. February. Memorandum that the same 5th day of Month and year as it is above written, word and knowledge came hither to this s^d Borough of Moch Wenlock that our Sovreign Lord King Henry the 8th was departed out of this transitory life, whose soul God Almighty pardon.

John Bayly Prior of the monastrie of S^t Mylburge at the tyme of the Surrender and dissolving.

13 Apr. Three Convicts buried; one a girl of 11 years old.

23 May. buried the body of Johan the wif of Tho^s Fenymer late Porter of the Monastrie here surrendred son of William Fenymer and of Agnes his wife daughter of Tho^s Ouseley of Salop Glov^r uncle of Dominus Rychard Syng at Wenlok sōtyme Prior of the Monastrie here surrendred.

26 May 1546. Here was buried out of the Strete called Mardfold out of the two Tenements nexte unto Sancte Owens Well on the same side of the well, the body of S^r Will^m Corvehill Preist, of the Service of O^r blessed Lady S^t Marie, within the Church of the holy Trinite &c which two hows belōging to the said S^vice he had ī his occupacion, w^t their apperten^e and parte of his wages, which was viij markes, and the said hows in an overplus: whose body was buried in the chancell of our blessed Ladie befor thalt^r under the Ston in the myddle of the said altare, upon the left hande as ye treade and stand on the heighest steppe of the thre, befor the said altare; whose fete streche forth und^r the said altare to the wall in the Eest of thaltare, the body ther lying wⁱⁿ the Erth in a tomb of lyme & ston which he caused to be made

for himselfe for that intent; after the reryng & buldyng of the new Ruff of the said chansell, which rering framyng & new reparyng of thaltare & chancell was doñ throw the counsell of the s^d Sir W^m Corvehill, whoo was excellently & singularly experte in dyvse of the vij liberal sciences & especially in geometre, not greatly by speculacon, but by experience; and few or non of handye crafte but that he had a very gud insight in them, as the making of Organs, of a clocke and chimes, an in kerving, in Masonrie, and weving of Silke, an in peynting; and noe instrumente of musike beyng but that he coulede mende it, and many gud ghifts the man had, and a very paciant man, and full honeste in his conversacon and lyvng; borne here, in this borowe of Moche Wenlok & somtyme moncke in the monastrie of S^t Mylbge here. Two brethren he had. One called Dominus John, Monke in the said monastrie, and a Secular prieste called S^r Andrew Corvehill who dyed at Croydon beside London, on whose soule & all Christian soules Almighty God have mcy. Amē. All this contrey hath a great losse of the death of the s^d Sir Will^m Corvehill for he was a gud Bell fownder & a mak^r of the frame for bells.

30th June. Here was buried out of Linley the body of Alice the wife of Thomas Granger, formerly the wife of Thomas Buckley.

Buried out of Mookley.

Christened out of Lee besides Presthope.

Buried out of Borwardesley.

Christened out of the new howse belonging to the Vicarage an ynde the towne Hall by the Churchyard side.

Married here from Arlescote besides Shrewsbury of the Parish of St. Alkmund there in Salop.

Here was buried out of the Parish of Borwardesley.

A christening, Gossib, Margareta the wife of John Morgan deceased, somtyme Organ player in the Monastrie of St. Mylburge.

9 Julii. Ad ultimam missam ego dominus Thomas Boteler Vicarius huj. Eccleie in Pulpito legi proclamacionem dñi R. nři Henrici octavi propter condemnationem librorum hereticorum istor. Vz. Fryth, Tyndale, Wycliff; Joy, Roie, Basilie, Bale, Barnes, Coŵdale, Toñer, Tracy, anno regni predicti xxxviii^o

1547. 28 March. Mr. Thomas Bayley by the mediation of Mr. Richard Charlton of the Hay, in the Parish of Madeley, with Reynald Rydley of Lynley, at the Visitation of John Lord Bishop of Hereford, viz. the 9th of July 1546, did

labour unto me Sir Thomas Botelar then Vicar of Church, that I would give my assent and good will that the Chapel of Willey, with the ground and yard to the same belonging, might be consecrate and dedicate and hallowed for the burying of the dead bodies of the inhabitants, which Sir Thomas Botelar refused.

James Shawcroft undersheriff of Shropshire.

Sir W^m Alcock Vicar of Dytton.

Thomas Lee of Langley Sheriff of Shropshire.

Aug. 4. Here was wedded early in the morning Thomas Munslow Smith and Alice Nycols, which wedded to him in her smock and bareheaded.

A wedding in the Chapel of St. Sampson Chresteseche without licence from Sir Tho^s Botelar.

Buried here out of Caughley.

Sir Richard Blakeway parson of Easthope.

Buried out of Posenhall.

Mention of Thomas Smith, Subprior, 115 years of age at his death.

Christened out of the parish of Harley.

Christened out of Presthope by Licence at Hughley.

Here buried out of Swyney.

17 July. 1547. Eodem die fuit communis ludus apud Hopton Mōchōr cuj^s ludi fuit director Ric^d Lawley.

7 Nov. quo die combusta fuerunt ossa dive Virginis Milburge in fori itroitu cimiterii cū quatuor imagbz vz. S^ti Jo. Bapt. de Hopebowdlar, Imagines S^ti Blasii de Stanto long, imagines S^te Marie Vg^{is} Matris Xti de Acton Roñde, et imagines ejusdem S^te Virginis Mariæ.

21 Dec. Ancarett the wif of Ja^s Collett somtyme the wif of Walter Wilcock Carpenter in . . . somtyme in the monastrie of S^te Milbge in the tyme of the veñable father relligiowse monke dominus Richard Syng prior of the said Monastre qu^s aī propitiatur deus. Amen.

19 Sep. S^r Tho^s Acton otherwise Doughtie, somtyme monke & celerer of the Monastrie.

25 Dec^r departed and dyed in the man^{or} place of Madeley about IX of the clock in the nyght Sir John Baily Clercke the last Prior of Moncks that was in the Monastre of Moch Wenlok prior ther at the tyme of the Surrēdr therof. whose bodie was buried on the morow, v^z fest of S^t Stephan in the parish church of Madeley aforesaid.

1549. 17th Nov^r Wedding at the Chapel of Barowe by S^r Tho^s Acton Priest somtyme moncke in this monastre of Moch Wenlok.

1550. March 18. Here was buried Catherine sometime wife of John Yate, father and mother of Thomas Yate of Broseley.

Buried out of Browseley.

Buried out of Holmer.

26 Nov. Another convict executed at the Eggeton, convicted the day before.

6th Dec^r Christening at Masse tyme.

1551. 10th Apr. Convict buried.

1552. 22 March. Out of Calowton John France Fermer of the Chief ferme ther, beyng at the tyme of his death of the yeres of one hundred vij; five Score yeres, and seven yeres above the C as he himselfe in his lif tyme befor diverse of his neighbours did declare.

(Richard Philips who hanged himself) at the ynde of the Lane going toward Calowton at the plote of grownde wher somtyme was a Crosse of tymbre called Hamñs Weales crosse.

9th July was carried by horse-litter from Buildwas the body of Sir Edward Gray Lord Powys to be buried at Pontesbury.

Huntingdon within the Parish of Little Wenlock.

Buried out of Swyney within the parish of Browseley.

Buried out of Monks Weston.

Buried here W^m son of Thomas Spurrier of Cotton, in the Parish of St Marys Shrewsbury, who had been with Sir W^m Michell parson of Browardesley for to set in his arm in to his shoulder, and died at Wenlock on his return.

Buried here out of Muckley.

Buried out of the new Smithy in Sherlatt within the precincts of the Chapel belonging to Barrow.

Buried out of Caughley.

10th of June. Buried at Worthfield the body of Richard Granger, dying at Lynley within the limits of this Parish Church of Wenlock.

Was buried out of Browseley.

25th Nov. died at Madeley Sir John Bailey, Clerk, last Prior of Monks that was in the Monastery of Moch Wenlock, Prior, whose body was buried in the Parish Church of Madeley.

Buried here from the Bold within the Parish of Willey.

22nd March, 1552. Buried out of Callaughton John Francis farmer of the chief farm there, aged 107.

Nov. The Booke of the Lords Supper.

¶ 1553. Mem. That as some say King Edward the VI. by the Grace of God died the 6th day of this instant month of

July, in the year of our Lord God as it is above written, and as some do say he died the 4th day of May last preceeding, in the same year of our Lord, and upon Mary Magdalenes, which is the 22nd day of this instant month, at Bridgnorth in the fair, there was proclaimed Lady Mary Queen of England, &c., after which proclamation finished the people made great joy, casting up their caps and hats, lauding, thanking and praising God Almighty with ringing of bells and making of Bonfires in every street. And so was she proclaimed Queen the same day at Shrewsbury, and at the Battlefield in the same evening with the like joy of the people, and triumphal solemnity made in Shrewsbury, and also in this Borough of Much Wenlock.

Mr. Thomas Lawley stayed a Corpse from coming through the Barns fold.

Here was buried out of Broseley the body of Sir Thos. Parkes priest, sometime a White Monk of the Cistercian order in the monastery of Buildwas.

Christening from Linley.

Christening at Hughley by licence of Sir Thomas Botelar.

Buried out of Willey from the Park.

23rd Jan^r. Buried out of Calowton the bodie of an old walking man called Richard Bebbe, who had a proxie to gedder for a leprosie howse founded of St. Gyles in Stafford.

7 Oct. A child first Christned in the Latyne tongue by the booke called the Manuale.

31st Oct. A child first buried after the Coronaçon of the Queens Majestie in the latyne tongue after the use of the Church of Sarum.

3 Sep^r. Quo die Ego do^s Tho^s Botelar hujus Ecclie počhlis Sancte ac individie Tñi Vētilocēs vicarius, divina servicia ac etiā missam Latinis verbis more antiquo et secūdum usu Sarum auctoritate excellentissime Vg̃is Mariæ Reginae nostræ Angliæ celebravi, sicut et ceteri curati hujus decanatus Vētilocen. ac ecčiar com. Salop fecerunt. Et in Vesperis, Rege Edwardo defuncto Vesperas, de Placebo & dirige ac Cetera p defuncto, cum missa de Regnina etiā in Crastino.

¶ 1554. July 6. Memorandum that in the 6th day of this instant month of July in the year of our Lord God as it is above written, and in the first year of the noble reign of Marie, by the grace of God of England France and Ireland Queen, &c., here sat Mr. John Herbert of Buildwas, W^m Charlton of Wombridge, Thomas Eyton, and Richard Lawley, Esq^r., in commission directed to them from Lord Nicolas Bishop of Worcester, Lord President of the Marches

of Wales, for the examination of the lands sometime belonging to the Chauntry or service of our blessed Lady within this parish Church of the Holy Trinity of Moch Wenlock.

16 June. The altar of our blessed Ladie within this Church was consecrated and of newe reedified & made up.

¶ 16th July, 1554. Memorandum. That the same day last above written my Lord the Bishop of Worcester Dr. Nicholas Heath, Lord President of the Marches of Wales coming with Justice Townesynde in company with him from Salop, and riding towards Bridgenorth, about two of the clock in the afternoon, was desired by the Burgesses of this Borough of Wenlock to drink, and so they did alight and drank, sitting in the house of Richard Lawley Gent. at the Ash, hanged and decked in the best manner the s^d Burgesses could, with clothes of Arras, Covering of Beds, Bancards, Carpets Cushions, Chair Forms, and a Cupboard covered with Carpet and a cloth, whereon stood the silver plate whereof they drank, borrowed for the time of Mrs. Agnes the wife of Mr. Thomas Rydley, sometime wife of Mr. Rich^d Lakyn of Willey; the table covered with Carpet Cloth of diaper and napkins of the same, three dishes of Pears and a dish of old apples, Cakes, fine wafers, wyne white, and claret, and sack, and bread and ale for the waiters and servants without, at their pleasure, where my said Lord and Mr. Justice sat the space of half an hour, and then arose, giving the said Burgesses great and gentle thanks for their cost and chear, and so departed towards Bridgenorth. The names of the Burgesses that were the cause of this s^d Banquet hereafter do follow as they come unto remembrance.

Edmund Sprott deputy to Mr. Rich^d Benthall Bailiff of this Borough of Much Wenlock and the Liberties of the same.

Ralph Leigh, Gent.	Rich ^d Leg	Christopher Morrall
W ^m Moore	David Llën	Edward Dyke } Con-
John Bradeley	W ^m Jeffries	W ^m Fennymer } stables
John Sothorne	Thomas Hill	John Wildcocks de Burton

Richard Wildcocks Serjeant of the s^d town & Liberties, & divers other of the Burgesses both of town & country. The sum of the costs of the said Banquet was 11^s.

Buried out of a Cottage or a Woodhouse within Holmere or Hollowmere, Catherine wife of John Bradley of Goose Bradley.

Here was buried out of Broseleys Parish.

21st Nov. Here was christened Thomas the son of John Dawley Tayler, and Attorney in the Court.

Here was buried out of Willey, George a sucking child, the son of Mr. Thomas Rydley Bailiff of the Franchises & Liberties of this Borough of Much Wenlock.

A marriage at Hughley in the chappel of St. John the Baptist there by licence from Sir Thomas Botelar.

20 Jan. 1555. Here was buried out of Caughley wood the body of one John Morell a frenchman born, the head man or chief workman of John Munslovs Smithie called the founder thereof.

20 Feb. Buried out of Browardesley S^r Edmund Myche parson of the Chapel there. Cui quidam successit in Browardesley Henricus Holgrene, Presbiter.

A marriage at the Chapel of St. Brice, in Benthall.

A Monk buried, 115 years old.

Lushcote within the Parish of Eaton.

1555. 3. Dec^r another Convict buried.

1556. 4th February. Here was christened Rich^d the son of Thomas Lawley Gent. and of Beatrix his wife, dwelling within the site of the Monasterie of S^t Mylburge the Virgin: the gossibs were Mr William Acton of Aldnam besides Sherlet, Rich^d Benthall of Benthall, and Ann Chidde widow, the wife sometime of Thomas Chidde Gentleman, sister natural of the said Beatrix, who hath been & brought into this world in Matrimony by her two husbands with this s^d child 17 children.

Here buried out of Willey the body of Sir John Podmore parson of the Chapel.

A funeral at Easthope at which Sir Thomas Botelar was present.

Buried here from Tickwood.

Buried out of Weston.

Buried out of Caughley.

Buried out of Browardesley from Coal Pit Hill.

¶ In remembrance to be had it is, that the 17th day of this instant month of November, in the year of our Saviour Jesus Christ, 1558, in the morning of the same day departed by death the noble Queen Marie, in the 6th year of her reigne the daughter of King the 8th, and of Queen Catherine his first wife; and the same day of her departing at 11 of the Clock, with the whole assent of the nobility, was Elizabeth the daughter of the said King Henry proclaimed Queen of England &c. in London. And upon St. Catherines day, as Sir Thomas Botelar Vicar of this Church of the Holy Trinity of Moch

Wenlock was going toward the Altar to celebration of the Mass, Mr. Richard Newport of High Ercal Esq^r then being Sheriff of Salop, coming late from London, came unto me and bad me that I after the Offertorie should come down into the Body of the Church, and unto the people here being, should say these words in open audience and loud voice. Friends ye shall pray for the prosperous estate of our most noble Queen Elizabeth, by the Grace of God Queen of England France and Ireland, defender of the faith, and for this I desire you every man and woman to say that Pater Noster with ave Maria, and we in the Choir sang the Canticle Te deum Laudamus, pater noster, ave maria, cum collecta pro statu Regni prout stat in processionale in adventu Regis vel Reginæ mutatis aliquibus verbis ad Reginam. And then went I to the altar and said out the mass of St. Catherine, and after mass forthwith went the same Mr. Sheriff with all the people out of the Church and by Laurence Rindles the cryar he caused her noble grace to be proclaimed Queen in the Market Place at the Church Yard Style before the Court Hall; he the s^d Mr. Sheriff giving him instructions thereto as is above written; and then the honest men both of this Borough of Much Wenlock and of this parish brought and accompanied him to the house of Richard Dawley the younger, then Serjeant to Mr. Francis Lawley, then Bailiff of the Franchises & Liberties of the same, and this done he went homewards, they bringing him on the way; and he taking his Horse rode forth, and upon Sunday next after (the 28th of the same month being Dominica proxima adventum domini) Mr Richard Lawley in the name of himself and of his Bailiff (who then was absent) came with W^m More, Rich^d Legg, and John Sothorne, with others, and willed me before (them?) that we should go in procession to repeat and to say in the body of the Church to the people assembled the same, saying in words that Mr. Sheriff willed me to pronounce with some addition of words as here it followeth after, and hereupon I having upon me the best cope called S^t Milburges cope, said unto the congregation in this wise. Friends, unknown it is not unto you that our Sovereign Queen Mary is out of this transitory life departed, for whose soul ye shall pray to Almighty God to take unto his mercy, and ye shall pray also for the prosperous Estate, &c. ut supra. And for this I desire you every man & woman to say Pater noster and Ave Maria &c. Then I said, Friends, Mr. Bailiff of this Town & of the liberties of the same, & Mr. Rich^d Lawley his father, with other that have been Bailiffs, have willed me

to shew you that are poor folks that ye may at afternoon about one of the Clock resort to the Bonfire where ye shall have Bread & Cheese & drink to pray unto God Almighty for the prosperity of the Queen's Noble Majesty, and this said we went forthwith in procession with *Salve festa dies* &c. sicut in dedicatiōe ecclesie, and at our return unto the quire we sang by note *Te deum laudamus*, and ended with *Kurie, Christe* (*Kurie Eleeson?*) *pro nos ave Maria, cum precibus et collecta pro bono statu Regine prout est in processionale.* This done I went to mass and after evening the bonfire was set on fire where the poor folks were served.

Buried out of Linley Green.

15 Dec^r another Convict buried.

1557. 10 Sep. a female executed.

8 Oct^r Christened out of the Monastrie of S^t Mylbge of Moch Wenlok Richard the son of Henrie Burgh Esq^r of the parish of Stan w^{thin} the Com of Lyncoln departed (see his marriage Oct. 1555.) and of Eliz his wif, Gossibes wer Edward Lorde Powys dwellyng at Buildwas somtyme the monastrie of our blessed Ladie Vgⁱⁿ a howse of white ord^r of religiose moncks and Richard Newporte of Moch Ercall Esq^r and Maistres Añe Cludd widow Ante of the said Elizabeth.

1558. 7 May. At Bridgenorth w^{thin} the Church of S^t Leonarde was buried the bodie of Dominus Richard Marciall othwise called dominus Richard Baker, sōtyme Abbot of the Monastrie of the Holy Apostles Petre & Paule in Shrowsburie, whoo succeeded in the Abbacie the dominus Richard Lye abbate of the same, whose bodie lieth buried in the church of the Spittle of St. Bartholomew in London at Smithfield. The s^d Richard Martiall resigned the s^d Abbacie to Dominus Tho^s Botelar who was Abbate at the suppressyng of the s^d Monastrie and after lyved and died in Bridgenorth, & his bodie buried ī the Church of S^t Leonard ther. And the resignation made, the s^d Ric. Martiall was Prior of the Cell in Northfield whose Sowles Almighty God take unto his mercie. Amen.

8th Aug. a Prisoner arraigned.

1559. 5 June. Buried Rauf Leigh gentman, son of Rich^d Leigh Lord of the Howse of Langley, and Kerver at the table to the worshipful Father in Christ Dominus Ric. Syng.

20 Nov. Buried here out of the Woodlands in the parish of Browardesley.

5 Jany. Here was buried by Sir John Lye parson of Broseley William Adams Laborer of the same parish of Broseley

ffarmer there of the farm being sometime pertaining to the Abbey in Wenlock.

25 June. It is to be had in Remēbrance that the celebration of the divine Svīce in the Englysh Tonge was begun this day in crastino Nativitat Sⁱ Joh^{is} bapt.

1560. 26 May. The same day the said Joh. Bill Sergeant had a love ale gedred by M^{res} Agnes Rydley wif of the said Tho^s Ridley bailiff of the frāches & libties of W^k. 10. 0. 0.£

21 May. John Doughty executed for Sheep Stealing.

31 May. Here was buried John Doughty, here hanged for stealing sheep from off the Morf by Bridgenorth.

Millichip within the parish of Eaton.

16th Dec. Buried out of the parish of Barrow.

ON THE CYMRIC LANGUAGE.

DAS ALTE WALES, VON FERDINAND WALTER. Bonn, 1859.

- * THIS work, entitled *Das Alte Wales*, or “Old Wales,” is one of the many learned treatises which have lately issued from the German press, on the subject of Celtic literature. We lay before our readers a translation of the second chapter, “On the Cymric Language;” and, for facility of printing, we shall incorporate the notes with the text.

The Cymric language is a remnant of the old national language of Britain, and as such it has always been regarded in the country itself. Giraldus Cambrensis, writing at the close of the twelfth century, gives instances of words commonly used in the country, and says that they are Britannic words. It is allied to the Cornish, which has now died out, and to the language of Brittany, whither many of the old Britons emigrated: it is further removed from the Irish, which is near akin to the Gaelic of the Scottish Highlands. (Zeuss, *Grammatica Celtica*, vol. i. pp. 4, 5.) The British language was not very different from that of the old Gauls; for Tacitus says (*Agricola*, c. 11), “Proximi Gallis et similes sunt—sermo haud

multum diversus;" and for proofs that the Britannic language was nearly allied to that of the Gauls, while the Irish was more removed from both, see Zeuss, vol. i. pp. 5-9. Hence as the Gauls called themselves Celts (Cæsar, *Bell. Gall.* i. 1), we infer that the Britannic tongue was one of the Celtic dialects. The relation of this language to the Germanic tongues, and the position of the Celts among the races of mankind, are questions which lie beyond the limits of our present inquiry.

The way in which the Britannic language was formed and modified, in the course of ages, cannot now be accurately shown, for want of ancient documents. The nearest approach to certainty that we can make, is by perusal of the manuscripts. There are relics of the old language in manuscripts of the ninth century; but these remnants consist of merely a few lines and glosses (see Zeuss. i. pp. 37-41; and the appendix at the end of his second volume, where he has printed the glosses in full).

Of the other manuscripts, there is not one which can be pronounced, with certainty, as older than the twelfth century; and in these we find passages handed down from older times, especially bardic histories of the sixth century; though there is reason to suppose that transcribers have altered the wording to suit the language of their own age. The author of *Britannia after the Romans*, speaks of a Codex of the tenth century, containing historical matter, which has been esteemed the oldest in Wales; but he adds no further particulars.

From these relics it is clear that the ancient language differed from the modern, and is no longer easily intelligible. This fact is evidenced by Price, in his *Hanes Cymru*, who, in quoting certain passages from the oldest bards, adds a translation in the modern Welsh dialect. Another proof is furnished by Stephens, in the *Cambrian Journal*, ii. 56, where he compares extracts from works of the seventh and twelfth centuries with those of the present day. Also in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries words are quoted which belonged to the most ancient Cymric. (*Ancient Laws*, 436, 151).

But that the language has been little changed since the thirteenth century, is proved by the comparison of manuscripts, and by the fact that the form of Britannic words, quoted by Giraldus in the twelfth century, differs little, if at all, from the present form : so *aber*, the confluence of a small stream with a river ; *bachan*, now *bychan*, little ; *caer*, a town, fortress ; *carn*, a rock ; *cledheu*, now *cleddeu*, a sword ; *cruc*, now *crug*, a hill ; *dŵr*, now *dwr*, water ; *halen*, salt ; *hir*, long ; *lan*, now *llan*, a church ; *lechlavar*, now *llechlafar*, a speaking stone, echo ; *mam*, mother ; *mawr*, great ; *nant*, a flowing stream ; *pen*, a head ; *ryd*, now *rhyd*, a ford ; *traeth*, the sea shore ; *trwyndwn*, flat-nosed ; *ynys*, an island.

Alterations in the language were naturally induced by long subjection to the Roman power, and by the influence of ecclesiastical terms, whereby many Latin words passed into the language of every-day life. These were in the first instance adopted with little alteration ; but afterwards became corrupted in the mouths of the people, as is the case in all dialects. Thus in the oldest historic manuscript, we find the names of *Maxim*, *Constantin*, *Tacit*, which were afterwards changed to *Macsen*, *Custennyn*, *Tegid*. Even so the modern words, *colovyn* from *columna*, *eleven* from *elementum*, *gevelu* from *gemellus*, *llavyn* from *lamen*, *tervyn* from *terminus*, were originally *colomyn*, *elmen*, *gemell*, *llamyn*, *termyn*. (See Herbert, *Britannia after the Romans*, p. 40.) There are many other instances of Latin words more or less mutilated. The influence of the Anglo-Saxon is not so manifest ; but we may refer to this source *edling*, Anglo-Saxon *aetheling* ; *distain*, Anglo-Saxon *discthen*, the superintendent of the royal table ; *taeog*, *taewg*, Anglo-Saxon *theow*, a slave. Even in the olden time, there were in Cambria three different dialects, according to the various divisions of the race, namely the *Gwenhwyson*, or men of *Essyllwg* ; the *Gwyndidiaid*, or men of *Gwynedd* and *Powys* ; and the race of the *Pendaran* of *Dyfed*, that is, the men of *Dyfed*, and *Gwyr*, and *Ceredigiawn*. (III. *Trioedd Ynys Prydain*, 16.)

In the middle ages the remains of the British language were still more subdivided into dialects, among which that of North Wales was the purest; that in one district of South Wales was the most esteemed, while those of Cornwall and Brittany were the most removed, though still intelligible to the Cymry. (Girald. Cambriæ Descr. c. 6. Notandum etiam intelligibili.)

The alphabet used in Britain during the Roman dominion was the Latin, and it remained in constant use in Wales. This is proved by the Latin monumental inscriptions of the sixth century, which are found in the country. (See Turner, *Vindication*, 516; *Iolo Manuscripts*, 364.) With the letters of this alphabet the Cymric also was written, as shown by copies from very old manuscripts in the *Liber Landavensis*, 113, 261, 271, 273. But, beside this, we are told that from very ancient times the Bards had preserved a peculiar alphabet, named *Coelbren y Beirdd*. The characters consist merely of straight and cross strokes, in various combinations, but not of curved lines, for it is supposed that the words were cut with a knife upon wooden staves. The first information, with a copy, was given by Llywelyn Sion, who towards the close of the sixteenth century collected many memorials of the Bards of Glamorgan. From his manuscript Edward Williams drew attention to the *Coelbren y Beirdd* (see his letter to Davies, in the *Cambrian Quarterly Magazine* ii. 92-95); and considerable discussion took place on the subject. (See *Cambro-Briton*, i. 241-246; and *Transactions of the Cymrodorion*, vol. i. p. 227-229.) Still there were some who doubted, so that Taliesin Williams was prompted to defend his father's views, in a small treatise, written in Welsh, and furnished with accurate representations of the characters. (*Traethawd ar hynafiaeth ac awdurdodaeth Coelbren y Beirdd*, gan Taliesin Williams (ab Iolo) Llanymddyfri, 1840. Compare *Arch. Cambr.* i. 471-473.)

Since that time, however, many papers from the collection of Edward Williams have been published, containing extracts from Llywelyn Sion. These recount the

ancient history of the Cymric alphabet from the age of Beli Mawr, which originally comprised only ten characters, though they were gradually increased to sixteen, twenty, and finally twenty-four. Further, it appears that under Henry V., from the year 1417, the Welsh were forbidden the use of writing and writing materials; so that the Bards were obliged to recur to their old form of written characters. These were carved in wood, and, for facility of reading, the staves were fixed in wooden frames. Accurate instructions are given for the manufacture of such frames. (*Iolo Manuscripts*, 203-209; 617-623.)

The truth of all this can be discovered only by an unprejudiced and careful investigation in the country itself. The statements are regarded as undoubtedly true by Williams, in his *Eccles. Antiq.* 32, 33, 62, 92, 93; and by Williams ab Ithel,¹ in the *Archæol. Cambr.*, New Series, ii. 285-290; iii. 21-24; as also in his edition of *Dosparth Edeyrn*, 3-13, where many old alphabets are given. On the other hand, the absence of monuments containing such characters, argues against the high antiquity of the bardic alphabet. Some have compared it with the alphabet of Nemnivus, and with another which has been found in Oxford manuscripts: so Zeuss, *Grammatica Celtica*, vol. i. pp. 38, 39; the former was published in 1705, in Hicckes' *Thesaurus*, i. 268; both are given in the edition of *Dosparth Edeyrn*, 10, 11, 12. But the former is evidently an ingenious patchwork; and the second is Runic, that is Scandinavian, as Westwood has shown in the *Cambrian Journal*, ii. 3-6.

The Cymric language has great power, simplicity, and precision, whence it is peculiarly adapted for the purposes of jurisprudence. It has one very remarkable faculty—the power of comprising a whole abstraction in a single word. It is very rich, especially in roots, by the help of which the requirements of thought and expression are subserved. So for the word *battle*, there are no less than nine descriptive terms; and with one of them, *aer*, ninety-

¹ The writer is not aware, apparently, that these are one and the same person.—ED. CAMB. JOUR.

six compound words are formed, as *aer-fraw*, "the terror of battle;" *aer-gawydd*, "the rage of battles." (See Stephens, *Literature of the Kymry*, 457-459.)

The construction of the language is generally simple, yet it possesses peculiar niceties and difficulties. Very remarkable are the changes of initial consonants which words suffer in construction. Thus the initial *b* is changed to *f* (or *v*) and to *m*; *c* to *ch*, *g*, *ngh*; *d* to *dd*, *n*; *g* to *ng*; *ll* to *l*; *m* to *f*; *p* to *b*, *mh*, *ph*; *rh* to *r*; *t* to *d*, *nh*, *th*. The laws governing these changes are delicate and various. The best exposition of the subject with which I am acquainted is given by Williams ab Ithel, in his edition of *Edeyrn*, 248-254. The view presented in the *Cambro-Briton*, i. 401-410 is unsatisfactory.

One great rule is that, whereas the word upon which the chief emphasis rests retains its original consonant, the subordinate word alters the radical into a soft letter. On the other hand, the changes into nasal and aspirate letters are formed according to the rules of euphony, being assimilated to the final consonant of the preceding word. In addition to this, however, the changes stand in connection with the preceding pronoun, prefix, numeral, or conjunction. For example, *tad*, a father; *ei dad*, his father; *fy nhad*, my father; *ei thad*, her father; *mam*, a mother; *ei fam*, his mother; *mam a thad*, mother and father; *y brenin Dafydd*, the king David; *Dafydd frenin*, David the king.

In using the dictionary, it is necessary to refer the word to its original initial letter, the radical, a process which is learnt only by practice. It is an important fact in the history of the language, that the mutation of consonants was introduced gradually, and only since the thirteenth century; for such changes are not found in the oldest manuscripts. This is proved by the editor of the *Ancient Laws*, p. 9, and by Stephens, 452. See also Villemarqué, *Bardes Bretons*, p. 10; and Zeuss, *Grammatica Celtica*, vol. i. p. 39. Moreover, in course of time alterations crept in, in the use of individual consonants to represent the sound, as Stephens maintains,

452–456. Further, the sounds which are expressed by the Welsh letters, by no means correspond to the sound of the corresponding letters in Latin and other languages. Hence, proper names are written quite differently, in order to convey the correct sound. Thus Vortigern, Irish *Feartigearn*, Welsh *Gortheyrn*, *Gwrtheyrn*: from Dubritius we see in an inscription TEFROITI. (See Lhuyd, *Archæol. Brit.* p. 227, and Stephens, 454.) From Eugenius we have *Ewein*, *Owain*, *Ywein*, now *Owen*: King Ambrosius became King *Emrys*.

The Cymric language was, in very early times, the subject of investigation in the country itself, which is a proof of advanced civilisation. It is said that the Bard Geraint, harper to King Alfred, wrote a grammar of the British language, about the year 880. Such a grammar, though a very imperfect one, was actually composed in 1270 by Edeyrn Dafod Aur, at the request of a contemporary prince; and this has been printed, under the title *Dosparth Edeyrn Dafod Aur*, &c., by the Rev. John Williams ab Ithel, M.A., Llandovery, 1856. Works upon the rules of the language appeared, written by Davydd Ddû about 1340, Davydd ab Gwilym about 1370, and Guttyn Owain about 1480.

After the invention of printing, grammars of the Welsh language were published by Griffith Roberts, 1530, William Salisbury, 1547, J. D. Rhæsus, 1295 (a very rare and curious work—see *Cambrian Journal*, ii. 55–60), who, as he said, wished to advance the better understanding of the Holy Scriptures, which had recently been translated into Welsh,—and by Henry Salisbury, 1593. More important was the grammar of John Davies, who, however, introduced throughout his work a comparison with the Hebrew. Another grammar was drawn up by Edward Davydd, 1660.

Dictionaries were not neglected. Efforts were made in this direction by William Salisbury, 1547, John Davies, 1632, Thomas Jones, 1688. But the first important step was taken by Edward Lhuyd in 1707, who, by availing himself of the manuscript records which had hitherto

been neglected, produced a comparative dictionary of the Celtic dialects preserved in Brittany, Wales, Cornwall and Ireland, with grammars and vocabularies. This great work, entitled the *Archæologia Britannica*, was derived exclusively from manuscript sources, was pursued with devoted industry, and has laid such a foundation for the study of the Welsh language and literature, as no other nation, at that period, could boast of.

After this appeared the grammars of William Gambold, 1724, John Rydderch, 1728, and Thomas Richards, 1781, whose grammar has been often printed, even in recent times, and was not supplanted by that of William Owen, 1803.

Further, there appeared the dictionary of Thomas Richard, 1751, the fourth edition of which was published in 1839; then the valuable English-Welsh dictionary of John Walter, 1794, the third edition, 1828; and the great Welsh dictionary of William Owen (Pughe), 1793, 1801, which although a work of vast industry, is not altogether trustworthy, nor free from many contradictions and arbitrary etymologies—faults which have not been corrected in the new edition, 1832. (See the severe criticism of Herbert, *Britannia after the Romans*, pp. xli. xlviii. 181–184; and compare Villemarqué, *Bardes Bretons*, pp. 19, 64, 123, 142, 172, 396.)

The latest grammar, with a small dictionary, was published by William Spurrell, 1848, and in a second edition, 1853. A commendable English-Welsh dictionary was produced by Silvan Evans, 1853. High value is justly attached to the laborious glossaries which are appended to the edition of the *Ancient Laws*, by Wotton and Aneurin Owen. A beginning was made in the direction of a more scientific grammar, with reference also to the history of the language and the dialects, by Williams ab Ithel, 1856; for in his English translation of *Edeyrn*, he added to the text short treatises, printed in smaller type, wherein he laid down a more extended system of grammar. A deep historic investigation of the Cymric language, in connection with other languages of

the Celtic stock, appeared in Germany : Zeuss, *Grammatica Celtica*, Lipsiæ, 1853 ; and this work has met with deserved recognition in Wales. (See *Archæol. Cambr.* New Series, v. 219-230 ; and *Cambrian Journal*, i. 291-294.)

In that country, from ancient times, a strong predilection has existed in favour of investigations respecting the origin and antiquity of the Welsh language. Proud of their peculiarities as an aboriginal people, the Welsh have endeavoured, partly by urging the simplicity of the construction, and partly by comparison of languages and etymological speculations, sometimes in the wildest way, to prove that their language was the original tongue of the human race—hence equal, if not superior, to the Hebrew, and even the parent of the Latin. The older writers, in this kind, were Rowlands, *Mona Antiqua*, 31-39, 275-317 ; and Edward Davies, *Celtic Researches*, 347-547. More recent treatises, more or less in the same spirit, are found in several articles of the *Cambrian Register*, the *Cambro-Briton*, and the *Transactions of the Cymrodorion*. This style of dealing with the history of language is censured by Herbert, *Britannia after the Romans*, pp. 33-42.

Even the newest work of this sort, which introduces, in connection with the subject, a system of mental philosophy and a philosophical theory of language, is not free from similar extravagances—the *Gomer* of Archdeacon Williams. This work is severely criticised in the *Archæol. Cambr.* New Series, v. 304 ; but, on the other hand, the *Cambrian Journal*, i. 96, is loud in its praise.

Beyond the limits of Wales, however, the philological science which has arisen in Germany, and the comparison of languages, have led to an examination of the origin of the Celtic tongues, and their relation to the Sanscrit. To this class belong the works of Prichard, 1831 ; of Pictet in Geneva, 1837 ; of Bopp in Berlin, 1838 ; and several treatises of Richard Garnett, which have recently been collected in one volume, *The Philological Essays of the late Rev. Richard Garnett, of the British Museum*,

Leipsig and London, 1859; to which may be added a small treatise of the German scholar Meyer, *An Essay on the Celtic Languages*, in the *Cambrian Journal*, i. 5-33.

This course of inquiry has drawn increased attention to the Cymric; and we may certainly predict that this language will assume great importance in the new and interesting science of Comparative Philology.

Such is the clear view presented by WALTER, in his able work. The whole volume appears to be drawn up with true German industry, accuracy, and judgment. How far he is warranted in trusting to the *Iolo Manuscripts* we leave an open question. We should feel great pleasure in recurring to this book, but as the author has reserved to himself the right of translation, it would not be proper to make very copious extracts. We think that this valuable contribution to Cymric literature should be laid before the British public in a complete form.

WM. RUSHTON.

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THE SUBSTANCE OF A LECTURE ON GEOLOGY,

Delivered by Mr. MACKINTOSH, F.G.S., and Member of the Ethnological Society, in North Wales.

THE speaker said the object of Geology was not so much to describe the various appearances of the surface of the earth, as to inquire into the causes which had produced them. Having described on a black board how the crust of the earth is composed of layers, or strata, he said that this crust was never allowed to rest for a single moment. It was continually assailed by water from above—rain, and tides, and currents of the ocean; and by these means, the whole of the dry land would, in the course of time, be washed into the sea, if there were no counteracting force. Then there was the action of internal fire. There

was a difference of opinion as to the extent of this fire, but all geologists were agreed as to the fact of its existence. Here we had two antagonistic forces, which exactly counteracted each other. A great line was drawn between them, which, as a rule, neither of them dare break through. In this we saw a remarkable proof of the wisdom and foresight of the Most High; for if fire were to act uncontrolled, the whole earth would be violently upheaved and broken into great irregular masses. He would take up the different subjects of his lecture in the order in which they appeared in the programme. In the first place he would give some account of the action of the sea on coasts. On the east coast of England the sea had committed great devastations. The speaker was acquainted with a gentleman in Suffolk, who had deeds in his possession giving him a title to a certain forest; but the water had submerged the land for the distance of twenty miles, and that forest was now in the bed of the sea. In the same neighbourhood there were several cliffs, such as he now represented to them. [Mr. Mackintosh here modelled two of the cliffs in sand, a quantity of which he had before him.] One of them was called the Little Cat Cliff, and the other the Great Cat Cliff. The smaller one was called the Great, and the larger one the Little. It was apparently an anomaly to call them thus. It was not so, however, in fact, for at one time they were really what their names implied. In course of time a change would again take place in these two cliffs, by which their relative dimensions would again be reversed. He then exhibited a drawing containing several isolated spires of rock, and stated that the spot where those now stood was once an island, but that by the action of water and other forces, the more yielding portions had been displaced, leaving the rocky pillars to stand alone. The Menai Straits were probably caused by the action of water; or perhaps by the subsidence of the land. It was admitted by all geologists that the Straits of Dover were at one time dry land. This was evident from the fact that the stratification was the same on the English and

French sides. Currents of water produced great changes in the conformation of the earth. [The speaker modelled in sand a Delta, the form which deposits at the mouths of rivers generally take, and showed the changes produced by their formation and subsequent demolition.] One phenomenon observed in rocks was the ripple mark. This was found in formations which had been frequently covered by water. When the water which covered the sand was agitated by a gale of wind, it produced those ripple marks. When it receded the sand became hardened, so that on its return, instead of washing away the ripples previously made, it deposited another layer of sand. The layers thus remained distinct. If any one would examine a section of such a rock, they would mark faint lines between them. These layers, or laminæ, were very conspicuous in some rocks, such as the old sandstone, but more especially in slate. In slate there are unmistakable signs of the action of fire, which had destroyed all animal remains, but still these laminæ were visible: such ripple marks were found in some of the most ancient rocks forming the crust of the earth. They are seen in Nant Francon, and in some parts of Cheshire. The force of currents was sufficient to disengage fragments from the rocks. By attrition the corners of these pieces of rock became rounded; after a while numbers of them became united together; and they then formed what were denominated conglomerate formations. Conglomerate formations are very common in Wales: in this way rocks of various kinds were being formed in the present day. It was the opinion of some geologists that all our continents were formed under the sea; then how did they become dry land?—to answer this we must turn to the action of fire. The speaker referred to the phenomena produced in some parts of Wales by volcanic agency. Snowdon was composed partly of the ashes and cinders thrown up by a volcano. Sometimes a crater became choked up with lava, and for ages it could not be known whether it had ceased to be a volcano or not. So it was at one time with Vesuvius; but the volcano was then only gathering

strength, and it would again break out with greater force than ever. The Bay of Bengal showed signs of a paroxysm of this kind. All the mountains of the moon were of this formation. Sometimes an explosion takes place beneath a number of layers, and the lava, &c., in endeavouring to force its way to the surface, enters the interstices between the strata, and remains there. It was of great importance to bear this in mind when trying to account for the appearances of the earth's surface. He thought there were many traces of such explosions in North Wales. It was almost impossible to explain the formation of *cwm*s (valleys) without having recourse to the theory of fire, in the early history of the earth. He described the difference between igneous and aqueous rocks, and showed that frequently the two kinds were found intermixed; and the aqueous were sometimes found in a condition which proved that since their first formation they had been materially affected by fire, but not sufficiently to destroy their stratification. This was particularly observable in the slate district of North Wales. The lava produced by volcanoes may be said to be of two or three kinds. One kind was called trap; then of trap there were two or three kinds—one was greenstone, this was found in irregular masses; another, basalt, often occurred in columns, as in the case of the Giant's Causeway, and in several parts of North Wales. By the elevation of these trap rocks mountains have been forced up, and by the same agent, heat, these strata must have been broken in different directions. Earthquakes—their cause and effects—were alluded to by the speaker, who explained the process by which beaches now found at great altitudes had been formed and raised. He not only referred to the upheaving power of earthquakes, but to rents made in the earth by them. The Devil's Kitchen, in Nant Francon, was evidently produced by some internal convulsion. Some of the Welsh hills have on one side a gentle slope, while on the other there is a sudden declivity. It was believed that the precipice was formed by the tearing away of a portion of the rock by volcanic

action. This would account, too, for the fact that in these neighbourhoods large stones were found bearing scarcely any signs of having been worn away by water. It must be admitted, however, that ordinary earthquakes could have produced such upheavals. He would now proceed to make a few remarks on the elevation of the land above the water. The present dry land was at one time the sea: the crust of the earth could not be more than a few hundred miles thick; perhaps not more than a few miles. It was no wonder then that this crust, hanging between two oceans—that of fire on one hand, and that of water on the other—should every now and then rise and fall. It was impossible to believe geological phenomena without believing this: it was now admitted that all our hills were at one time islands. During the elevation of the rocks, beds of drift were formed on their sides; this drift consisted chiefly of stones very different from anything found in the same locality. This is called the great northern drift, because it was believed to have been brought in icebergs from some northern region. These icebergs, when they became disengaged from the rocks in the vicinity of which they had been formed, would carry with them portions of those rocks. When they came into a warmer climate they would melt, and deposit their cargo of stones at the bottom of the sea. The speaker explained the glacial theory. One geologist believed he could trace evidences of the existence of glaciers at one time in North Wales; but others did not go as far. It was admitted that the presence of some boulder stones, found in North Wales, could only be accounted for by the theory of the passage of icebergs. In the passes of North Wales, we saw clear indications that they were at one time sea straits; and this led some geologists to deny that glaciers had ever existed here. The rocks on which we tread were very old; the Cambrian strata were supposed to be the oldest. They contain very few traces of animal formation: any animals they may have contained, appeared to have been destroyed by the action of fire. In the neighbourhood of Shrewsbury there were some very

old rocks, and in these animals had been discovered. [The speaker here showed a drawing of a trilobite, the animal to which he referred.] It was one of the most perfectly organised animals ever discovered; its eyes particularly displayed the wisdom and providence of God. It was important at the present time that such an animal should be found in the oldest rocks, for it completely overthrew the development theory—the theory supported by Mr. Darwin. If we examined the order in which animal remains were found in the crust of the earth, we should find no evidences of progressive development. In each stratum the animals were quite different and distinct from those of the underlying strata. There was no evidence of any animal having sprung from the other. The most eminent geologists were of opinion that the different classes of animals were direct creations; that they were not transmutations—and that man especially is distinct from all the rest. As to the period at which man was created, geology confirms the truth of the Bible history. Man was certainly created last of all. If he had been created at an earlier period, he would have left some traces of his existence behind him. He could not exist without displaying his handicraft. The absence of all signs of his workmanship was a clear proof that he did not exist until the time mentioned in the sacred record.

Mr. Mackintosh said he would now proceed to show the connection between geology and astronomy; and after an interval of a few minutes, exhibited some beautiful luminous views, amongst which were some of the *nebulæ* which Lord Rosse, with his powerful telescope, had discovered to be composed of stars, quite as distinct from each other as were the stars of our system. By putting the lantern out of focus, he showed the appearance which the *nebulæ* presented when first seen; and by gradually bringing it again into focus, the stars were step by step brought out of the apparent mist, until at length they stood forth, each in its own orbit. With reference to comets—after some remarks upon their extreme

tenuity, he said it was impossible to tell, when a comet was first seen, the time it would take to perform its circuit, or whether it would ever return. If its course was a parabola, it would never again be seen by us; but would probably travel on through space, until stopped by some other body. If it travelled at the rate of 668,000 miles an hour, it was plain that its course described a parabola. If it travelled more slowly, and described an ellipse, then we might expect it would visit us again. The comet of 1861 was so near the earth at present, that its orbit could not be ascertained. As a proof of the ethereal nature of the comet's tail, he stated that lately we had passed through it without suffering any inconvenience.

CORNWALL AND THE CORNISH LANGUAGE.

CORNWALL, at the time of the Roman occupation of Britain, was called *Carnubia*, and the inhabitants of it *Carnabii*—names probably derived from the ancient British *Cernyw*, which is said to signify a projecting ridge, and also a promontory. According to some etymologists the root of *Cernyw* is the Latin *cornu*, or the Celtic *corn*—a term used in allusion to Cornwall being a promontory with many projecting points. Norris, the editor and translator of the *Ancient Cornish Drama*, has the following explanation under the word *Corn*, in his *Ancient Cornish Vocabulary*:—"Cornubia, Carniu, Kernyw, nomina regionum ob prominentiam. The recent plural was Kernow." The plural of the Welsh word *corn* is *cyrn*, and in some parts of South Wales *cyrnau* is also used. *Au* in Welsh, *ow* in Cornish, and *ou* in Armorica, are very common plural terminations of nouns.

The ancient British inhabitants of Cheshire, in the time of the Romans, were also called *Carnabii*, as well as *Cornavii* or *Corinavii*: and so were the occupiers of Caithness, north of the Ale or Ila, which is the north-

eastern extremity of Scotland, named *Carnabii*, because they, in the opinion of some antiquaries, like the *Carnabii* of *Cernyw*, were seated on a promontory. Archæologists are not agreed as to the identity of the *Carnabii*; but those who inhabited *Kernyw* were doubtless the descendants in part of the ancient *Lloegrwys*. According to the Historical Triads, vii. and ix., the *Lloegrwys*, who were descended from the primitive nation of the *Cymry*, composed the second peaceful colony which reached the shores of Britain. They arrived here probably about a thousand years before the Christian era. But as it is generally believed that the southern coasts of Britain, at the time of the Roman invasion, were inhabited by the Belgæ, it is very possible that the *Lloegrwys* and other colonies, which subsequently arrived, several of which are mentioned in the Triads, became amalgamated. Beale Poste, in his *Britannic Researches*, p. 148, specifies three invasions of Britain by the Belgæ, the probable dates of which respectively he fixes about 350, 100, and 85 years before the Christian era. This may account for the difference which exists between the two languages of the Britons of Cornwall and Wales, as they have been transmitted to the present time. Norris, in the Appendix to vol. ii. p. 457, of the *Ancient Cornish Drama*, states it as his "opinion, that the Cornish is the representative of a language once current all over South Britain at least." And again in p. 462, he says,—"The close resemblance of the Cornish to the Breton spoken at this day in France, justifies us in believing that a language akin to the Cornish of our oldest manuscripts, was the idiom of South Britain when the Roman departure took place." Was not this the language of the *Lloegrwys* in general, and of the *Carnabii* of *Cernyw* in particular?

The origin of the modern name, Cornwall, is by some antiquaries ascribed to the Saxons, who designated the Ancient Britons, *Weales*; and those of them who, in defiance of all attempts to subjugate or expel them, retained possession of *Cernyw*, they distinguished by

the name of *Cornweales*, which implies Cornish Welsh; and their country, *Cornweale*, which signifies Cornish Wales.

When Britain was invaded by the Saxons, the Lloegrwys were brought by violence and conquest into confederacy with them, except such as were found in Cernyw and in the north of Britain. The Cornish Britons were successful in maintaining their independence as a distinct kingdom until the beginning of the ninth century, when Cornwall was united to that of England by Egbert. But their entire subjugation does not appear to have been effected until the second quarter of the tenth century, when it was completed by Athelstan. From that time the Cornish language began gradually to decline, until by the end of the last century it became entirely extinct; of the gradual decay of which some notices have been left on record, by several writers who have alluded to the subject.

The name of Dr. Moreman, of Menheniot, near Liskeard, who lived in the reign of Henry VIII., has been handed down, as that of the first person who taught his parishioners the use of the "Lord's Prayer" in English. But Andrew Borde, a physician in the same reign, who wrote during the second quarter of the sixteenth century, states,—“In Cornwal is two speches; the one is naughty Englyshe, and the other is Cornyshe speche. And there be many men and women the which cannot speake one worde of Englyshe, but all Cornyshe.”

From this statement it may evidently be inferred, that the Cornish language was no longer used generally and exclusively by the inhabitants. A period of six or seven hundred years had witnessed the introduction amongst them of “naughty Englyshe,” which may imply a species of mongrel or corrupt dialect of the English.

Another author, whose name was Norden, about the year 1584 wrote a *Survey of the County of Cornwall*, in which he states,—“Of late the Cornishe men have muche conformed themselves to the vse of the Englishe tounge, and their Englishe is equall to the beste, especially in

the easterne partes ; euen from *Truro* eastwarde it is in manner wholly Englishe. In the weste parte of the countrye, as in the hundreds of *Penwith* and *Kerrier*, the Cornyshe tounge is moste in vse amongste the inhabitantes, and yet (whiche is to be marueyled) though the husband and wife, parentes and children, master and seruantes, doe mutually communicate in their native language, yet ther is none of them in manner but is able to conuers with a *straunger* in the Englishe tounge, vnless it be some obscure people, that seldome conferr with the better sorte : but it seemeth that in few yeares the Cornishe language wilbe by litle and litle abandoned."

Richard Carew, a native of Cornwall, who was educated for the bar, and was appointed a magistrate of the county, in his *Survey of Cornwall*, written in 1602, says,—“Most of the inhabitants can speak no word of Cornish, but very few are ignorant of the English, though they sometimes affect to be.”

It appears from the foregoing statements of Norden and Carew, that the period of fifty or sixty years which had interviened between their time and that of Borde, had produced a marked improvement in the manner in which the English language was spoken by the descendants of those who had acquired “naughty Englyshe.”

Hals, of Fenton Gypse, author of a *Cornish Interpreter*, and of an *Account of Cornwall*, observed at the beginning of the last century that the use of the old Cornish tongue was retained in the parish of Feock, near Truro, till about 1640, when the Rev. William Jackman was obliged to administer the sacrament of the Lord's Supper in that language, the formula for which has been preserved to this day, because the old people did not well understand, or were not sufficiently conversant with English.

Ray, in the year 1662, said that few of the children in Cornwall could then speak the Cornish language, and that Mr Dicken Gwyn was regarded as the only person who could write in it ; and consequently that the language would soon be lost.

Bishop Gibson in his *Additions to Camden's Britannia*, published in 1695, p. 16, states,—"The old Cornish is almost quite driven out of the country, being spoken only by the vulgar in two or three parishes at the Land's End; and they too understand the English. In other parts, the inhabitants know little or nothing of it; so that in all likelihood, a short time will destroy the small remains that are left of it. 'Tis a good while since, that only two men could write it, and one of them no scholar or grammarian, and then blind with age."

In the year 1700, the Cornish language was, however, still spoken by the tanners and the fishermen of St. Just, near the Land's End, and by the inhabitants of the western side of Mount's Bay. And it is stated by Scawen of Molinick, a Cornish gentleman, who wrote towards the latter part of the seventeenth century, that the Rev. Francis Robinson, of Llandewednack, near the Lizard Point, preached to his parishioners in the Cornish language in 1768, it being then the language best understood by his hearers: that was, however, in a remote corner, which had little communication with other parts of the county; and Mr. Robinson is said to have been the last person who preached in Cornish. Scawen further states, that an old woman had died about two years before, that is about 1766, at the great age of 164, who could scarcely speak in any language but in the Cornish; but he also adds, that the Cornish language was then, in general, become quite extinct.

In the latter part of the last century, two aged women of Mousehole, whose names were Jane Cock and Jane Woolcock, are said to have been acquainted with the language: and about the same time, John Nancarrow, of Marazion, is reported to have learned it in his youth. William Bodener, a fisherman, of Mousehole, in 1766, could write both Cornish and English. In a letter, written by him that year in Cornish, which was published in the *Archæologia*, vol. v. p. 83, he says that he was then sixty-five years of age, that he had learned Cornish when he was a boy, and that there were then

not more than four or five persons living in Mousehole—old people, fourscore years old—who could speak the language, which, he adds, was entirely forgotten by the young. Mr. Polwhele, who wrote a *History of Cornwall*, affirms that the same William Bodener died in 1794,¹ and left two sons, neither of whom knew enough of the language to converse in it. But the individual who has the reputation of having been the last of the Cornish Britons who understood it and could converse in it, was Dolly Pentreath, whose death is reported to have taken place in 1778,¹ at the great age of 102. She was interred in St. Paul's Church-yard, near Penzance, where her grave remained, without a tomb to point it out, until last year. Mr. Tompson, an engineer of Truro, who had studied the Cornish language, wrote the following epitaph upon her, and circulated it among his friends, but it was never inscribed on her grave:—

Epitaph on Dolly Pentreath, in Cornish.

“Coth Doll Pentreath cans ha deau;
Marow ha kledyz ed Paul plêu:
Na ed an eglos, gan pobel brâs,
Bes ed eglos-hay, coth Dolly es.”

The above Epitaph in Welsh.

“Hên Ddôl Pentraeth, cant ha dwy;
Marw a chladdedig yn mhlwyf Paul:
Nid yn yr eglwys gan (gyda) bobl frâs,
Ond yn mynwent yr eglwys, hên Ddoli sydd.”

The Original Epitaph translated into English.

“Old Doll Pentreath, aged one hundred and two:
Deceas'd and buried in Paul parish too;—
Not in the church with people great and high,
But in the church-yard doth old Dolly lie!”

The following critical notes on the original epitaph have been kindly supplied by the most proficient Cornish scholar of the present time, the learned author of the *Celtic Dictionary*:—

“*Coth* is a word unknown to the Welsh language, but is preserved in the Armoric—*côz*, old.

¹ If the above dates be correct, it appears that William Bodener survived Dolly Pentreath by a period of sixteen years.

"The Cornish has *dyw*, fem., but often uses the masc. *dew* with fem. nouns.

"In Welsh the copulative *a* was formerly *ha*. *Cledhys* is the part. pass. *Ed* is a late form for *yn*, which is always used in the Classic Ordinalia.

"*Plwyf* is from the Lat. *plébs*, Welsh, *wy* = *é*; thus the Welsh word *eglwys* is from the Lat. *ecclésia*; *Canwyll* = Lat. *candéla*; *Cwyr* = Lat. *céra*; *Rhwyd* = *rête*, &c. *B* changes regularly into *f* (*v*).

"*Hay* is the Saxon *haya*, an inclosure."

Last year a monument to the memory of Dolly Pentreath was put up in the church-yard of St. Paul's, near Penzance, by Prince Lucien Bonaparte, who is well known for his extensive acquaintance with the several branches of the great Celtic language, which bears on it the following inscription:—

"Here Lieth interred
Dorothy Pentreath
who died in
1778.

Said to have been the
Last person who conversed
in the ancient Cornish
The peculiar language of
This Country from the
Earliest records
Till it expired in the
Eighteenth Century
In this Parish of
Saint Paul

This Stone is erected by
The Prince
Louis Lucien Bonaparte
in union with
The Rev^d John Garrett
Vicar of St Paul
June 1860.

Honour thy father and thy mother :
that thy days may be long upon
the Land which the Lord thy God
giveth thee. Exod. xx. 12.

Gwra Perthi De taz ha de mam :
mal de dy thiw bethenz hyr war

an tyr neb an arleth de dew
ryes Dees.² . Exod. xx 12.”

The above inscription is on the side nearest the public road, known as Mousehole Lane. On the side of the monument facing the south porch of the church and principal entrance, the following is inscribed:—

“ Dorothy Pentreath
who conversed
In ancient Cornish
Died in
1778

This stone is erected by
The Prince
Louis Lucien Bonaparte
and the
Rev^d John Garrett
1860.”

The letters of the inscription are in the style called “Pica Doric.” Near the base of the monument, the name of the sculptor, “Martin Teague,” is inscribed in small characters.

The reasons assigned by Bishop Gibson, in the *Additions* already referred to, for the decay and extinction of the Ancient Cornish Language, are principally the following:—

“ 1. The suspension and loss of commercial intercourse and correspondence with the Armoricans under Henry VII., previous

² With reference to this extract, the author of the *Celtic Dictionary* states, that if properly rendered, it would be thus:—

“ Gwra perthy dhe dâs ha'th vam
Mal y fydh dhe dhydh yow hir
war an tir, neb an Arluth dhe Dhew
a rôs dhyso.

The Welsh version of this would be as follows:—

“ Gwna berchi dy dâd a'th fam
fel y bydh dy dhydhian hir ar
y tir yr hwn yr Arglywydd dy Dhuw
a roes i ti.”

Mr. Williams further observes:—“The Cornish texts of the two epitaphs are of the latest form, and consequently very much corrupted: they are of little importance in a philological point of view.”

to which time mutual interchanges of princes and families with them occurred.

" 2. The general introduction of the use of the Liturgy in English into the parish churches, when the Act of Uniformity was passed.

" 3. The discontinuance of the *Guirremears*, or mystery-plays, which had been performed in Cornish at the great conventions of the country.

" 4. The settlement among the inhabitants of English artisans, tradesmen, ministers and others."

The above causes, together with the lack of village and parochial schools, in which the Cornish might have been taught, as well as the want of a translation of the Holy Scriptures, and of the Book of Common Prayer into the vernacular speech, combined with the increasing apathy of the people themselves as regarded the continuance of the aboriginal language, contributed very materially, no doubt, to its general neglect. Had the Prayer Book and the Bible been translated into Cornish, as they ought have been, at the Reformation, and copies of them circulated among the inhabitants in general, and the services in the parish churches conducted in that language, it might have been a living speech to this very day, and possibly might have continued to be spoken for many future generations. And the labour and difficulty attending the study of a defunct speech, with the view of acquiring a competent knowledge of it, would have been avoided.

This article cannot be concluded in better terms than in the language of the following reflection on the decline and extinction of the Cornish, taken from *The Illustrated Itinerary of the County of Cornwall*, by Cyrus Redding:—

" In the death of a language there is something painfully striking—as being the medium through which, for perished ages, perished generations of men communicated alike wants the most trivial, or the thoughts that wander through eternity."

LLALLAWG.

THE TRADITIONARY ANNALS OF THE CYMRY.

CHAPTER XXVII.

THE CIVIL ARTS.—LITERATURE.

THE following are the nine CIVIL ARTS:—

Literature,	Astronomy,	Warfare,
Arithmetic,	Pleading,	Navigation,
Mensuration,	Philology,	Judicature.

“These were invented after the Cymry were assembled in towns and cities, and system was conferred upon sovereignty and privileged arts.¹

The first on the list is Literature, or the Art of Letters (*llythyryddiaeth*). We are not to suppose, however, that the principle of literature originated subsequently to the era of Prydain; on the contrary it was revealed to man at his creation, and the primary or radical letters of the alphabet were educed out of the representation of the Divine Name, as the fountain of all literary knowledge, in the earliest ages of the world. The bardic traditions are united on this point, though they vary somewhat as to the personage through whose skill the first modifications ensued, as well as to the numbers of those which are characterised as primary letters. We subjoin a few extracts:—

“Einigain, Einigair, or Einiger Gawr, was the first that made a letter to be a sign of the first vocalization that was ever heard, namely, the name of God. That is to say, God pronounced His name, and with the word all the worlds and their appurtenances, and all the universe leaped together into existence and life, with the triumph of a song of joy. . . . The symbol of God’s name from the beginning was /I\ ; . . . and from the quality of this symbol proceed every form and sign of voice, and sound, and name, and condition.”²

“A. e. i. o.—b. c. t. l. s. r. p. It was Einigan Gawr that first obtained understanding respecting letters, and he made the prin-

¹ Myv. Arch. iii. pp. 121, 129, where in both places the extract purports to have been taken from “the Book of the Rev. Evan Evans.”

² Llanover MS.

cial cuttings, which were eleven, that is, the four vowels and the seven consonants: and he inscribed on wood the memorial of every object he beheld, every story he heard, and every honour he understood. And others observing the things that Einigan did, concluded that he was the devil, and banished him. Upon this he came to his father's kindred in the Isle of Britain, and exhibited his art, and they adjudged him to be the wisest of the wise, and called him Einigan the Gwyddon; and all who learned the art of letters they called Gwyddoniaid, which Gwyddoniaid were the principal sages of the Isle of Britain, before Bards were systematically distinguished in respect of privilege and usage."³

"Who was the first that made a letter?

"Einigan Gawr, or as he is also called, Einiget Gawr; that is, he took the three rays of light, which were used as a symbol by Menw ap y Teirgwaedd, and employed them as the agents and instruments of speech, namely, the three instruments, B.G.D., and those embosomed in them, the three being respectively invested with three agencies. Of the divisions and subdivisions he made four signs of place and voice, so that the instruments might have room to utter their powers, and to show their agencies. From these were obtained thirteen letters, which were formally cut on wood and stone. After that, Einigan Gawr saw reason for other and different organs of voice and speech, and educed from the rays other combinations, from which were made the signs L. and R. and S., whence there were sixteen signs. After that, wise men were appointed to commit them to memory and knowledge, according to the art which he made; and those men were called Gwyddoniaid, and were men endued with Awen from God; but they had no privilege and license warranted by the law and protection of country and nation, only by the courtesy and pleasure of the giver."⁴

"Menw ap y Teirgwaedd beheld three rods growing out of the mouth of Einigan, which exhibited the sciences of the ten letters, and the mode in which all the sciences of language and speech were arranged by them. He then took the rods, and taught the sciences from them—all, except the Name of God, which he made a secret, lest the Name should be falsely discerned; and hence arose the secret of the Bardism of the Bards of the Isle of Britain. And God gave His protection to the secret, and gave Menw a very discreet understanding of sciences under this His protection, which understanding is called Awen from God; and blessed for ever is he who obtains it. Amen. So be it."⁵

³ Llanover MS. The alphabet of sixteen is called, in this fragment, "the system of Einigan"—"cwlwm Einigan."

⁴ Llanover MS.

⁵ Llanover MS.

“Who was the first that obtained understanding respecting letters?

“Adam was the first that obtained it from God in Paradise, and his son, innocent Abel, learnt it of his father. The murderer Cain, Abel’s brother, aspired to fame in respect to worldly goods, but Abel would not have it, except in respect of sciences pleasing to God, and understanding and learning concerning the works and will of God. Wherefore Cain envied his brother Abel, and treacherously slew him, upon which the sciences, which Abel had rendered intelligible, were lost. After that, Adam had another son, whose name was Seth, and he taught him the knowledge of letters, and all other godly sciences.⁶ Seth had a son named Enos, who was educated by his father as a man of letters, and of praiseworthy sciences in respect of books and learning.⁷ And Enos was the man who first made a book of record, for the purpose of preserving the memorial of everything beautiful, laudable and good, that is to say, of what God the Creator did, and of His works in heaven and earth; and he enjoined it to man as a law and ordinance. This knowledge was maintained by the posterity of Enos until the time of Noah Hen, and when the waters of the deluge had subsided, and the ship arrived on dry land, Noah taught the knowledge of books and all other sciences to his son Japheth; and our nation, the Cymry, who were descended from Japheth, son of Noah Hen, obtained this knowledge, and brought it with them to the Isle of Britain, and maintained it, multiplying and amplifying sciences in respect of books and learning, and committed thereto all memorials until Christ came in the flesh.”⁸

Menw and Adam are probably the same person, and there is very little doubt that Einigan, as suggested in our first chapter, is but the bardic representative of Enos.⁹

⁶ Ieuan Du’r Bilwg (1460–1500), says of Seth:—

“Sedd, mab ieuaf Addaf oedd,
Breuddwydiwr, a Bardd ydoedd.”

Seth was the youngest son of Adam,
He was a dreamer, and a Bard.

⁷ The Eastern people have a tradition that Seth declared Enos sovereign prince and high-priest of mankind, next after himself.

⁸ Llanover MS.

⁹ The language of some of the Bards, indeed, would lead us to consider Einigan likewise to be identical with Adam. Thus where in several of our traditions it is said that three rods were seen growing out of the mouth of Einigan, William Lleydn, about 1540, has—

In that case our last extract sufficiently explains and harmonises those traditions of the Bards, which attribute the invention of letters sometimes to Menw, sometimes to Einigan. We find, moreover, that the number of radical letters is variously set down at 10, 11, and 13; the most generally adopted, however, is 10, made up of the letters a. p. c. e. t. i. l. r. o. s., whence the alphabet came to be designated by the word *abcedilros*, afterwards softened into *abcedilros*.

"**ABCEDILROS.**—So are the ten primary letters called, being put together in one word of four syllables; that is to say, they are arranged in respect of the word thus, A. B. C. E. D. I. L. R. O. S."¹

These primary letters were modifications of the symbol /1\, different, however, from the forms which they afterwards assumed, when the alphabet was augmented.

"After that, M. and N. were invented; hence there were twelve letters, and they were called *MABCEDNILROS*, being twelve letters; subsequently four others, namely, G. T. P. F. were devised, and then the letters were reduced to a new system, all of cognate sound being placed next to one another, as being of the same family in respect of vocalization."²

According to other authorities, the four were b. ff. g. d., which would be more in unison with the theory which represents the harder ones as primitives.

In the fragment on the "*ystorrynau*," or cuttings, printed in the *Iolo MSS.* p. 204, we are told,

"Beli Mawr made sixteen for himself, and he established that arrangement with regard to them, and appointed that there should never afterwards be a concealment of the knowledge of letters, on account of the arrangement he made, nor should the ten cuttings remain secret."

We are probably to understand that the letters *m* and

"Gwial a gad, tyfiad daf,
Yn wŷdd o enau Addaf."

Rods were found of good growth,
Being wood, out of the mouth of Adam.

¹ Llanover MS.

² Id. See also *Iolo MSS.* p. 203. We regret that we cannot furnish our readers with a copy of the ancient letters, our printer not having the necessary type.

n, and subsequently, four more, were invented not strictly by the personal skill and genius of Beli, but in the reign and under the patronage of that monarch. It may be that as the arrangement is designated "cwlwm Edric," or the system of Edric, the real inventor was an individual of that name.

The statement, however, seems utterly at variance with the following:—

"Ten characters, significant of language and utterance, were possessed by the race of the Cymry for ages before they came to the Island of Britain, as a secret under oath and vow amongst the learned; namely, the poets and reciters of verse, and professors of wisdom and knowledge, before there were established Bards; and in the time of Prydain, the son of Aedd Mawr, about fifteen hundred years before the birth of Christ from the blessed Virgin Mary; and in the time of Aedd Mawr, regular Bards in office were established, and free privilege of passage granted them; and afterward the learned improved the coelbren as was required for its being read and understood, until sixteen characters were introduced into it; and in the time of Dyvnwal Moelmud, about six hundred years by record and computation before the birth of Christ, the sixteen characters were established, to preserve the language and expression, and every record of race and country, so that no other system could be found as good for maintaining records, and arts, and wisdom, and the right usages of the nation of the Cymry, and their privileges; and the ten original characters are kept secret to this day by oath and vow, and no person except such as have undertaken the vow, have known them."³

Here the discovery of the sixteen letters is dated about 500, or according to the most usual computation, 330 years before the time of Beli Mawr. It is very possible, however, that the framer of the record really meant Beli, the son of Dyvnwal Moelmud, who in the pedigree of the Penrhyn family, is also called Beli Mawr. Or it may be that the sixteen letters were known among the Bards as early as the time of the great legislator, but not among the people until the era of the son of Manogan. This hypothesis is supported by the following extract:—

³ Iolo MSS. p. 209. This fragment was written by Llywelyn Sion.

"Ten significant letters had the Cymry from the beginning before they came into the Isle of Britain, which ten are kept to this day by the Bards of the Isle of Britain, as a secret not to be divulged. Therefore no man can have a radical understanding of the coelbren of letters, who is not under the obligation of the vow of the secret of the Bards of the Isle of Britain. It was in the time of Dyvnvarth ap Prydain ap Aedd Mawr that the cuttings of the symbols of language and speech were raised to sixteen in number, and mutual knowledge of them was conceded, and each had a new form different to what the ten secret and unrevealed symbols possessed. It was at the time when Beli Mawr ap Manogan was king paramount of the Island of Britain that the sixteen letters were divulged to the nation of the Cymry, and security given that there should be no king, or judge, or teacher of country who did not know the sixteen characters, and did not reduce them to proper art."⁴

Rhuvawn Davod Awr is said to have added two more letters to the alphabet, so that it contained eighteen altogether—these were *v.* and *h.*⁵ It would appear from the following extract that this augmentation was made in the time of Beli Mawr:—

"When the sixteen characters became open to the whole country, the coelbren was further improved and extended, till it was increased to eighteen in the time of Beli Mawr, the son of Manogan."⁶

This is the last improvement which the British alphabet underwent within the period of our annals. Indeed some of our traditions refer the introduction of the two letters just mentioned to the time following the birth of Christ;—

"After the faith in Christ they were made eighteen."⁷

and this view is supported by the fact that the alphabet of eighteen is usually designated "the Coelbren of Taliesin," or else "the Coelbren of Talhaiarn," both of which persons lived some time after the Incarnation.

⁴ The system of letters, as arranged by Gwilym Tew, and exhibited by him at the Eisteddvod and Gorsedd of the Monastery of Pen Rhys, at the time of Owain Glyndwr.

⁵ These two are given from another MS. That which mentions Rhuvawn has *v* (apparently) and *ff*.

⁶ Llywelyn Sion, *apud* Iolo MSS. p. 209.

⁷ Iolo MSS. p. 204.

Letters were originally written on wood or stone, most commonly the former; hence not only the material but the alphabet itself was designated "Coelbren," that is, wood of credibility.⁸

"They provided hazel, or mountain ash in the winter, and also it was customary to split each stick into four quarters, until in the course of time they were fully dried; then to trim them four square in breadth and width, and after that to trim down the corners to the tenth part of an inch; and this was done that the signs, which were cut with a knife upon the square, should not show themselves on the next face, and thus on every one of the four faces. Then they cut the signs, some of which were those of language and speech, some of numbers, or signs of science, others notes of music, of voice and string; and after cutting ten of such bars as were required, then they prepared four end bars, two and two, which were called pill, and cutting them smooth, they placed two together side by side across the frame, and marked the place for the ten holes. After which they cut half of each hole in one bar, and half in the other, and they did the same with the other two bars. Then they took the cross bars on which the letters had been cut, and made a neck at the ends of each of them, the breadth of a finger; then they placed the lettered sticks with their numbers upon one of the upright bars, on one end of the frame, and the same with the other end to match the holes, and with strings to bind them tight at each end of the lettered sticks, and after being bound all tight, the book thus constructed is called Peithynen, because it is framed: the upright bars keeping the whole together, and the cross bars, viz., the lettered sticks, turning free in the upright bars, and thus easy to be read. The manner of reading is thus: one side is read first according to its number, then it is turned with the sun, and the second face is read, and each other the same; and thus from cross bar to cross bar until the reading is finished. A number from one to ten being on the face to mark each of the cross bars, and that numerically marked is the first to be read, and these in order turned with the sun."⁹

The first word that ever was uttered was of course the

⁸ When stone was used it was called "Coelfain," the stone of credibility. Even this mode seems to have been occasionally in use down to a late period. Thus Huw Cae Llwyd (1450-1480) in his *Elegy on Gwilym Tew*, observes of him, that he "Darllen main bychain yn ber," sweetly read the small stones.

⁹ MS. of Llywelyn Sion, *apud* Iolo MSS. p. 207.

Name of God, represented by /H, the root and origin of all speech.¹ The Bards call this a Cymric word.

"The three first words of the Cymraeg, the Name of God, that is, O. I. U.; the name of the sun, perception and sensation, that is, SULW, BO, others say BYW."²

SULW, according to the primitive system of letters, would be written *sol*, which is still the Latin name for the sun. In like manner Bo would undoubtedly be the original form of Byw, *living*, the modifications *y* and *w* not being then in use.

By the knowledge of the primitive letters we are thus enabled to reduce letters and phraseologies into their pristine orthographical form, and this is of great advantage in discovering the original affinity that existed between different languages. If the Moelmutian Triads were committed to writing as early as the age of the great legislator, or indeed at any time before the reign of Beli Mawr, son of Manogan, they must have presented an orthographical form somewhat similar to the following specimens:—

Loma Trioet Topnoal Moelmot, a eloir Trioet o clotao a Trioet o carclotao.

"I.—Teir clot cotaroet o sot; partoniaet; copaniaet; o telono-riaet. Neo bal on, teir clot cotanet o sot, on preint tepotao cenetl o Comro; part; perolt; a telonior.

"II.—Tri pet a onant clot-cartreo: cenetl; preint, a ropel.

"III.—Tri cartcooltep o sot; cotieit; cotar; a cotarm.

"IV.—Teir clot armol o sot; coteaos; cotatrac; a tipon; seo naot a cotnaot.

"V.—Teir clot cotnaot o sot; tinaoclot; mesori; a cotar; seo o tolet; paop ei lao on a metro.

"VI.—Teir clot otcorn o sot: toconnol colat can rieint a pen-cenetloet; corn conaoam; a corn cat a ropel, rac cormes corolat ac estron.

"VII.—Teir clot cotarm o sot; rac estron a cormes corolat; rac a toront preint a cotreit; a rac coltmilot reipos.

"VIII.—Teir clot cotport o sot; peirt on eo colc clera; a domcoel o ropel; ac eilion on naot cenetl o Comro.

"IX.—Teir clot tocoel o sot; ieit; preint; a cenetl. Neo o

¹ See ante, Chap. I.
CAMB. JOUR., 1861.

² Unpublished MS.

mot aral; cereint; cotar; a cotieit; seo nis celir cartocoel on tiormes, oni bot on o'r tri tros ono.

"X.—Teir clot ormes o sot; somot car ep preint, ep cenat; corc coscort estron, ep ropot, ep anpot; a parn, ep olat, ep onat; neo, ep olat ac arclooti rieint."³

The legal code of Dyvnwal Moelmud is the only piece of literature among the Cymry, of any length, that can be referred to ante-Christian times; it is, however, such as any nation might justly be proud of. Clothed in pure language, it contains sentiments of morality and justice that might well prepare our ancestors, as we have reason to believe it did, for the reception of the more divine doctrines of Christianity. Undoubtedly several of our proverbs, also, are of druidic origin, such as,

"Duw a digon."—God and enough.

"Heb Dduw heb ddim."—Without God, without anything.

"Gair Duw yn uchaf."—The word of God uppermost.

"Duw yn y blaen."—God foremost.

"Yn enw Duw."—In God's name.

"Gwir yw gwir."—Truth is true.

"Gwir a ddaw yn wir."—The truth will come true.

"Gwir a fyn ei le."—The truth will have its place.

"Duw yw'r gwir."—God is truth.

"Duw yw Duw."—God is God.

"Gwir yn erbyn y byd."—Truth against the world.

"A fo ben bid bont."—Who is head let him be a bridge.⁴

The following lines of poetry, likewise, bear internal evidence of having been written by a contemporary of Beli Mawr:—

"Llad yn eurgyrn	Liquor in golden horns,
Eurgyrn yn llaw	Golden horns in hand,
Llaw yn ysci	Hand in labour,
Ysci ymodrydaf	Labour in society,
Fur itti iolaf	Cunningly I will give thee praise,
Buddyg Veli	Victorious Beli,
A Manhogan	Son of Manogan,
Rhi rhygeidwei deithi	Sovereign that upholdest the honour
Ynys fel Feli	Of the honey isle of Beli." ⁶

³ These Laws are printed both in the *Myv. Arch.* vol. iii.; and in *The Laws and Institutes of Wales*, vol. ii.

⁴ Most of these in connection with druidic tenets are given in "The Roll of Tradition and Chronology," *apud Iolo MSS.*

⁶ *Myv. Arch.* i. p. 73.

Foreign authorities, as far as they go, are in unison with our native traditions on the subject under consideration. Thus Cæsar:—

“Nor do they deem it lawful to commit those things [which pertain to their discipline] to writing; though generally, in other cases, and in their public and private accounts, they use Greek letters. They appear to me to have established this custom (INSTITUISSE) for two reasons, because they would not have their secrets divulged, and because they would not have their disciples depend upon written documents, and neglect the exercise of memory.”⁷

It is true that this statement is made with direct reference to the Gaulish Druids, yet inasmuch as we are informed upon the same authority, that these were regarded as having derived their system originally from Britain, and that even then they were in the habit of resorting thither for the purpose of learning it more accurately, it must equally, if not with greater force, apply to the sages of our own island.

The word *generally* (*fere*), used by Cæsar, seems to imply that they knew more than one alphabet, just as it may be said of us, that we *generally* use Roman letters, though, on some occasions, we employ the national, and the old English characters. But if our author meant to intimate no more by the expression than that, though they abstained from committing to book anything of a purely bardic description, they did use letters *in almost* every other transaction (*in reliquis fere rebus*), and that those letters were Greek, may we not suppose that he made this latter statement from having observed a certain similarity, though not an exact identity, between the druidic and Greek alphabets? The letters copied from the monumental inscription of Gordian, the messenger of the Gauls, who suffered martyrdom in the third century, which being national, are yet described as somewhat similar to those of Greece, greatly countenance this hypothesis. Mr. Astle, who has ably discussed the subject of ancient letters, thus reports of them:—

⁷ De Bell. Gall. lib. vi. 14.

"These ancient Gaulish characters were generally used by that people before the conquest of Gaul by Cæsar; but after that period the Roman letters were gradually introduced."⁸

But, be that as it may, the statement is positive that the Druids possessed a knowledge of letters in the time of the great Roman general; and we may even add that the prohibition of them in a certain case being an *institute*, or fundamental part of their law, powerfully evinces that such knowledge was not recent.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

THE CIVIL ARTS.—ARITHMETIC.

It would appear that the Cymry paid great attention to the science of numbers (*rhifyddiaeth*) at an early period, and succeeded in course of time in bringing it to a high state of perfection. Its origin as an art dates from the time of Prydain ab Aedd Mawr, and is thus described:—

"In the primary Gorsedd spoken of, according to the privilege and usage of the Bards of the Isle of Britain, warranted system was made in respect of number and numérals, namely, after this wise:—There are three fixed numbers, the first one, and the three first making a plurality, and the first three triads making pluralities or a fixed plurality, that is to say, nine. If we proceed further, the number falls into the condition of unity, as is the case with ten; for from one to ten, and from ten to ten tens we arrive at a hundred. In the same manner we proceed from one hundred to ten, which make a thousand; and from one thousand to ten, which is a myriad. And according to this system we may go as far as we like; and according to the meaning of the fixed one, we proceed as shown; and according to the meaning of the fixed plurality, that is three, we go as far as the three triads, which are fixed pluralities; for there can be no unity to any of the points of numérals otherwise than has been shown, namely, from one to ten. Therefore three and threes are a plurality and fixed pluralities, for we cannot go as far as possible without going into a plurality. It is in virtue of this principle that triads have been

⁸ Origin and Progress of Writing, p. 56.

obtained for everything, in respect of natural arrangement, and according to sense and understanding, and necessity, for there is no oneness or unity to anything in the world or existence, but to God and truth, and the one point of liberty; in every other unity there is a plurality in respect of principle and characteristics. It was from this understanding of the nature of numbers that the Voice Conventional of the Bards of the Isle of Britain exhibited in threes and triads; and it is according to this order that the Bards of the Isle of Britain arrange their learning, art, wisdom, and all their sciences of song and bardism, for it is by the lesser plurality that the principal characteristics of all sciences, and art, and every order of wisdom, can be most easily arranged. And it is by means of this system that one can most easily learn and remember what is necessary, as need requires it should be learned and known. And in every chair of song and gorsedd it is required to recite the Triads of the Bards of the Isle of Britain, and no degree or chair can be given to a Bard who knows not the Triads of the Bards of the Isle of Britain—their substance and character. The first thing done in chair and gorsedd is to recite these triads, and to show their meaning and quality bardically, and dogmatically, according to judgment and wisdom.”¹

It is remarkable that number two is not considered here as a plurality, perhaps because “there cannot be a majority of numbers without three.”² Three is thus called a fixed or fundamental (*cadarn*) plurality, and its multiple—three times three, or nine—fixed pluralities, comprehending all simple numerals, which have to be repeated in conjunction with other figures, to denote ten and upwards, for “there is no number beyond ten.”³

“Ten is the division point of numbers, and it is by tens that all numbers are arranged as far as language can give them names. Ten is the perfect circle, and ten within ten, or ten about ten, will be within and without the circumference, circle within circle for ever; therefore the best arrangement of number and numbers is ten and tens.”⁴

¹ The Triads of the Bards of the Isle of Britain, and the Conventional Memorial thereof; an unpublished MS. in the Llanover Collection.

² Voice Conventional of the Bards of the Isle of Britain.

³ Laws of Howel Dda.

⁴ Coelbren y Beirdd, by Llywelyn Sion, *apud* Iolo MSS. p. 270. It is remarkable how the doctrine of circles pervades the secular as well as the divine sciences of the Cymry. *Cant*, a hundred, or ten times ten, literally signifies a circle.

There are several arrangements or systems of numeration recorded as having been in use among the Cymry of old, which differ in some respects one from the other. We will here subjoin a few, regretting that we have no proper type to delineate the figures as they occur in the original. As far, however, as they are represented by the letters of the alphabet, we shall make use of Roman equivalents for our purpose.

"The three signs of knowledge that were in use from the beginning, by the nation of the Cymry.

"The signs of word and speech, that is to say, letters as far as ten, as far as sixteen, as far as twenty, and as far as twenty-four.

"The first of the three in respect of privilege and origin, are the signs of word and speech, namely, letters.

"The second, the signs of harmony, namely, tone and music.

"The third, the sign of numbers, which are as follows:—

A	E	I	O	W	Y	B	C	D	X
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

"That is to say,

"One, two, three, four, five, six, seven, eight, nine, ten; one-ten and one, one-ten and two, one-ten and three, one-ten and four, one-ten and five, one-ten and six, one-ten and seven, one-ten and eight, one-ten and nine; two-tens, and as before to three-tens, four-tens, five-tens, six-tens, seven-tens, eight-tens, nine-tens, a hundred, and to a thousand, and from thence to ceugant. It is a secret preserved in the Voice Conventional of the Bards of the Isle of Britain from the beginning; and it was Tydain Tad Awen that first arranged it skilfully and particularly in the sciences of wisdom; and it was he also that arranged the signs of the art of Music, in respect of voice, and string, and bellows, as is shown in the Memorials of the Secret of the Bards of the Isle of Britain."⁵

"Let the following be added to the system of the above signs:—

x, 2x, 3x, 4x, 5x, 6x, 7x, 8x, 9x, c, or xx; but some put o for a hundred, and xo for a thousand."⁶

As this arrangement is attributed to Tydain Tad

⁵ Llanover MS. The extract purports to have been taken from the Second Book of the Secret of the Bards of the Isle of Britain, and from the Yniales (Annales). The Yniales is said to have been compiled by Hopkin ap Thomas, of Ynys Dawy, in the fourteenth century.

⁶ Id.

Awen, a Bard who lived long before the invention of the secondary letters w and y, it must in its original state have been represented by the older characters. The name given to the scale of numerals is RATOSCEPLI, and as this word is made up of the ten primary letters, it is more than probable that the letters, as they occur, represent respectively the original figures of the Cymry from one to ten. RATOSCEPLI is likewise regarded as a secret of the Bards.⁷

The following system also contains the later characters:—

“ Numeration.—Numbers.

“ A, E, I, O, W, Y, B, P, C, D, DA, DE, DI, DO, DW, DY,
1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16,
DB, DP, DC, DD, DDA, DDE, DDI, DDO, DDW, DDY, DDB, DDP,
17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28,
DDC, DDD, DDDD, dd, ddd, dddd, ddddd, dddddd, pa.⁸
29, 30, 40, 50, 60, 70, 80, 90, 100.

“ Another arrangement of numerals:—

“ A, E, I, O, P, Y, B, W, N, D.
1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, arranging as above in respect
of more than ten, according to these ten numbers,—
pa, papa, papapa, papapapa, wpa, ypa, bpa, ppa, rpa,
100, 200, 300, 400, 500, 600, 700, 800, 900,
dpa, or m, or padd.
1000.

“ Also thus,—

dde,	ddcc,	ddccc,	ddcccc,	dddd, or padd.
wm,	pam,	dm,	x,	xo, oo.
5000,	100000,	1001,	Myriad,	100,001.

⁷ RATOSCEPLI—the order of Numerals. The variations in this order amount to many thousands; the system, a bardic secret. The series or scale of numerals is called “Coelbren yr Awgrym.”—(MS. Note.) In one document *Ratoscepli* is said to have been a name as well as *Abcedilros*, given to the original alphabet of the Cymry.

⁸ The bardic character used here is not necessarily a reversed dd; we use it, however, as the nearest approach to an equivalent we can get among our modern letters.

"Another,—

"MN, X, XO.
5000, 100000, 1000000."9

It will be observed that the initials of the Cymric names of the numbers are made to represent the numbers themselves in some parts of the preceding system; more especially in the second series, where we have P. W. N. D. for *pump, wyth, naw, deg*, respectively.

"*The nine degrees of the Order of Numerals.*

"One ten times will make ten; ten ten times will make a hundred; a hundred ten times will make a thousand; a thousand ten times will make a myriad; a myriad ten times will make a buna; a buna ten times will make a cattriv.¹

"And after this, the numbers according to tens; thus, ten cattrivs, a hundred cattrivs, a thousand cattrivs, a myriad cattrivs, a buna cattriv, and a cattriv of cattrivs or cad-cattrivs, a hundred cad-cattrivs, a thousand cad-cattrivs, a myriad cad-cattrivs, cattriv-cad-cattrivs. Then ten cattriv-cad-cattrivs; and after that the nine circles of the nine orders, and so for ever; and at the end of that cycle everything is to be renewed until the end of the nine circles of renovation, called the nine orders of heaven; and at the end of every cycle, there must be a beginning anew."³

"*This is the System of Signs.*

"There were three kinds of signs from the beginning on record, by the Bards and wise men of the nation of the Cymry.

"1. The signs of word and speech, that is to say, letters. It is from the signs that a visible word is formed, and from the words a visible language, and visible speech.

"2. The signs of harmony and tone, that is to say the voice and speech of musical song and of stringed song.

"3. The signs of number and balance.

"The signs of number are exhibited under the marks of the

9 Unpublished MS., Llanover Collection.

1 In another MS. it is "cattyryva."

2 The Book of Ben Simon; a MS. We have been obliged to leave some of the names as they occur in the original, since they cannot be numerically translated into English. Some of the terms seem to have been borrowed from a Military Glossary: thus *cattriv* means literally "battle number;" *cattyryva*, "battle crowd;" and in the arrangements which follow, *rhiallu* means the power of a "sovereign;" *cadrawd*, "a battle course," or "troop of soldiers." Again, *manred* refers to "the particles of creation;" *cywanred* is "the aggregate of those particles," and *ceugant* "the infinite space," where God only dwells.

ten characters of voice and speech, that is to say, the ten characters of the primary letters. And they are kept a secret by the Bards of the nation of the Cymry under the obligation of a vow, and they may not be divulged to other than a Bard, who is under the stipulation of a vow of life and death. But in order to instruct the populace, the ten sworn characters are not used, but the trite numerals, as recorded and known by civilised countries and nations, and as accordant with the sense of civilisation, and with the three foundations of the sciences of learning, and the three signs of a civilised and scholastic nation.

"Here is the language of Numerals, as shown under the common figures of civilised nations, that are under belief and baptism.

"1 One, 2 two, 3 three, 4 four, 5 five, 6 six, 7 seven, 8 eight, 9 nine, 0 ten; and before the 0 the number it bears; as one ten 10; 20 two tens, 30 three tens, 40 four tens, 50 five tens, 60 six tens, 70 seven tens, 80 eight tens, 90 nine tens, 100 a hundred.

11. One-ten and one, or ten and one.

12. One-ten and two, or ten and two.

13. One-ten and three, or ten and three.

14. One-ten and four, or ten and four.

15. One-ten and five, or ten and five.

16. One-ten and six, or ten and six.

17. One-ten and seven, or ten and seven.

18. One-ten and eight, or ten and eight.

19. One-ten and nine, or ten and nine.

20. Two-tens. } And one, or two and two-tens, and one

30. Three-tens. } for every other additional ten to a hun-

40. Four-tens. } dred.

101 a hundred and one, and two, &c., or one and a hundred, two and a hundred, &c., and so for every additional hundred.

101 a hundred and one, 120 a hundred and two tens, 125 a hundred and two-tens and five, &c.; and so for every additional hundred to a thousand, &c.; and so for every additional thousand to a myriad; and for every additional myriad to a million; and for every additional million, and so forth, to a buna, or mwnda, and forth to a cattyrva, and forth to rhiallu, and from rhiallu to manred, and from manred to cywanred, and from cywanred to ceugant, which God only knows."⁴

The testimony of this document confirms our supposition as to the original figures. We are here told posi-

⁴ The "British Cyvarwydd," collected by Anthony Powel, of Llwyllydiarth, Tir Iarll, about 1580. A MS.

tively that they were denoted by "the ten characters of primary letters," though their order is not given.

"The Order of Numerals."

One,
 Ten,
 Hundred, ten tens,
 Thousand, ten hundred,
 Myriad, ten thousand,
 Mwnt, ten myriads,
 Rhiallu, ten mwnts,
 Mwnda } ten rhiallus,
 Buna }
 Tyrva, ten bunas, or mwndas,
 Catyrva, ten tyrvas,
 Cadrawd, ten catyrvas.

"These are called the ten orders of Numerals; and it is from knowing every movement and treatment of the numerals that all truth is known respecting number, measure and weight.⁵

"Here is the arrangement of Numerals, that is to say, the particulars of the art of Arithmetic. According to this reason they are shifted from place to place, that is, each particular becomes itself a number, in the place where it is, higher than the other. These are the names of the particulars:—

One, ten, hundred, thousand, myriad, millior, mwnt, rhiallu, buna, tyrva, catyrva, cadrawd;—that is to say, ten ones are ten, ten tens are a hundred, ten hundreds are a thousand, ten hundred thousands are a myriad, or according to another way, a thousand thousands are a myriad, a myriad myriads are a million, a million millions are a mwnt, a mwnt mwnts are a rhiallu, a rhiallu rhiallus are a buna, a buna bunas are a tyrva, a tyrva tyrvas are a catyrva, a catyrva catyrvas are a cadrawd, a cadrawd cadrawd are the number of lives from Annwn to Gwynvyd, &c."⁶

Though some of these arrangements, as already observed, present among themselves a great variety in respect of the order, value, and names of numbers, they concur in bearing testimony to the great attention paid, at different times, by our ancestors, to the science of

⁵ The Book of Mr. Cobb, of Cardiff. A MS.

⁶ The Book of Llywelyn Sion. A MS. We have been compelled to omit some arrangements altogether, because figures are employed of a form and character which cannot be represented by any type in the possession of our printer.

figures, as exhibited in the immense length to which they succeeded in drawing out their Numeration Table, which has scarcely been equalled by any other nation under the sun, unless it be the Chinese.

We may add in conclusion, that the Cymric names of the simple numerals are cognate with the names in vogue by the Greeks and Romans, as well as many other nations. It is not to be inferred from this circumstance, however, that our people borrowed the terms from another; rather it is an argument in favour of the great antiquity of the science of numbers, as known to men before the final division into nations, and their separation one from another took place.

DRUIDISM.

CHAPTER VI.

FROM DYVNWAL MOELMUD TO THE CHRISTIAN ERA.

IN the interval between Dyvnwal Moelmud and the era of Christianity, several circumstances arose, which were calculated to influence, more or less, the national religion of Britain.

About one hundred and twenty-eight years after the death of the great legislator, that is, in the time of Gwrgan of the Thick Beard—

“An awfully tempestuous inundation occurred in the British seas, that engulfed a large portion of the Lowland Cantred; and in consequence of this deluge, the Gwyddyl first came to the Isle of Britain, and received of Gwrgan lands in Ireland, where they became a numerous and powerful people. In the time of the said Gwrgan, also, the men of Llychlyn came first to the Isle of Britain, and obtained the means of subsistence in Alban, where they have remained to this day.”¹

¹ The Periods of Oral Tradition and Chronology, *apud* Iolo MSS. p. 37. This document purports to be “in accordance with the old system of memorial and computation which was used by the Bards of the Isle of Britain, before the nation of the Cymry received the faith

We have seen that a tribe of the Gwyddyl had come over previously, and settled in Scotland "under the peace and by permission of the nation of the Cymry." These latter came, in like manner, more as dependants upon the good will of the natives, than as enemies or usurpers, and "received of Gwrgan lands in Ireland," which proves that Ireland was, at that time, under the British government.

Of the religious tenets of this people may be said the same thing that was said in reference to the first tribe. It is very probable, however, that they, since their arrival was of a later date, had degenerated more in regard to religion than their predecessors. The Traditions of the Bards relate of them, positively, that "they corrupted what they had learned of the Bardism of the Bards of the Isle of Britain, by a vain admixture; whence they lost it."²

Are we to infer from this that the Gwyddelian tribes had abandoned, nominally, their own ancient form of religion, whatever that might be, on their settling in the British Isles, and conformed to the native system? It would appear that such was the view taken by the Cymric Bards on the subject. It is not unlikely that they had tried to weld the two forms of religion together, and that by engrafting some of their old superstitions, they had in some degree spoiled and corrupted the purer religion of their patrons. The above tradition, however, taken out of the "Triads of Privilege and Usage," clearly implies that they did not succeed in bringing about any change in the religion of the Cymry—that the corruption was confined to themselves.

in Christ. . . . After that, memorial and computation were adopted, in reference to the Advent of Christ in the flesh." It was compiled in its present form, as we learn from its closing paragraph, in the year 1485.

² "Three nations corrupted what was taught them of the British Bardism, blending with it heterogeneous principles, by which means they lost it; the Gwyddyl, the Cymry of Llydaw (Brittany), and the Germans."—*Institutional Triads*, apud E. Williams; *Lyric Poems*, vol. ii. p. 230.

Probably it was the same calamitous occurrence, namely, the inundation just spoken of, that forced the Llychlynwys, likewise, to seek means of subsistence in Britain. Whether these people were of Celtic, or of Gothic origin, must be a matter of conjecture. It is very likely that their request was founded upon the alliance that naturally ensued between the two nations, upon the marriage of the British King Bran with the daughter of the King of Llychlyn.³ And as Bran's dominions lay north of the Humber, the settlement which the Scandinavians obtained of him was, accordingly, in that country. The religion of this people is generally represented as somewhat bloody and cruel; it could not, therefore, naturally or easily, coalesce with Druidism.

In the time of Annyn the Rugged, eleven generations after Dyvnwal Moelmud, there "arose a new king in Gwynedd, by mere usurpation; and there was a great war between Annyn and the Coranians." The conjunction, which is here observable, seems to indicate that the "new king" was one of the Coranians. In that case, the usurpers must have got a footing to some extent, at this time, in Cymru. That they had penetrated into some parts of that country is undoubted; for it is related of Greidiol, the grandson of Annyn, that he, having prevailed against them, "drove them entirely out of Cymru."⁴ But whilst they conducted themselves as enemies, though they might be in the very midst of the Cymry, the principal conservators of Bardism, there was not much danger of this system being corrupted by them. The chief danger to which Bardism would be exposed, under such circumstances, would arise from the difficulty of holding a regular Gorsedd, and the consequent enfeeblement of the traditions.

It was in the time of Annyn the Rugged, also, that "the alien dragon came to the Isle of Britain and Ireland," which was the second of "the three principal

³ Myv. Arch. vol. i. p. 142.

⁴ The Genealogy of Iestyn, son of Gwrgant, *apud* Iolo MSS. p. 6.

usurpations." We are told in the Triads, that the second of "the usurping tribes" were "the Gwyddyl Ffichti, who came to Alban across the sea of Llychlyn—and the Gwyddyl Ffichti are in Alban, on the coast of the sea of Llychlyn."⁵ The alien dragon must, therefore, have been the same tribe as the last named. Commentators differ as to their origin; for while most consider them as a branch of the Celyddon, which hypothesis is somewhat corroborated by an expression of Eumenius,—"*Caledonum aliorumque Pictorum*,"—others again identify them with the Cymry. However that may be, it is certain that Bede,⁶ and the Welsh Brut,⁷ with reference to later immigrations, describe their original home as Scythia, by which term, as applied in the first centuries of Christianity, was understood Germany, and the more northern regions of Europe.⁸ We know nothing of the characteristics of their religious belief.

About B.C. 280–279, an expedition, of unusual magnitude, was undertaken against the Greeks, which drained the island of a great number of its inhabitants. In the Triads it is called one of "the three expeditions that went out of the Isle of Britain;" and is said to have been conducted by Ur, son of Erin of Numerous Hosts of Llychlyn, on this wise. He came into the island, "to request the assistance of this island, under a stipulation that he would not require of each principal city more than the number he brought into it. He brought into the first city only one, himself, and his servant, Mathatta the Great; and from that he received two, and from the second city four, and from the third city eight, and from the next sixteen—and so in proportion from every other city, until the number to be taken from the last city

⁵ Triad 7, Third Series.

⁶ Hist. Eccles. lib. i. c. 1.

⁷ Myv. Arch. vol. i. p. 194.

⁸ Thus Anastasius, the Sinaite, a monkish writer, whom Pinkerton cites as of the ninth age, but who lived as early as the sixth:—"Σκυθίαν δε ειωθασι καλειν οί παλαιοι το κλιμα το Βορειον, ενθα εισιν οί Γοτθοι και Λαυεις."

could not be furnished by the whole island. With him went sixty-three thousand men, and one thousand; and more than that number of efficient men could not be supplied to him in the whole island—children and old men only being left behind. The most complete expedition that ever happened was that of Ur, the son of Erin of Numerous Hosts; and the nation of the Cymry greatly regretted having given him so many men under an irrevocable vow; since, in consequence thereof, the Coranians had an opportunity of making an incursion into this island. Of those men, none returned, offspring or posterity; for they went on an expedition of adventure to the Greek sea, and settled in the land of Galas and Avena to this day, and became Greeks.”⁹

If these men had returned, we should have expected them to have brought with them more or less of the peculiar doctrines held by the Greeks, in respect of religion and philosophy. But whilst the country was preserved from this danger, it was laid open to perils from influences that existed nearer home, though to what extent these acted upon the “children and old men” that were left behind, it is not in our power to tell. As already observed, it is extremely improbable that they would have received any of the tenets of the Coranians, whatever they were, whilst they were in a state of active hostility and war against them; but where the usurpers prevailed against them, undoubtedly they would be compelled to adopt the creed and usages of their masters. But though the “efficient men,” or such as were capable of fighting, were taken away, and the national senate was thereby much reduced in power, we ought to bear in mind, that the teachers and priests—the Druids, were

⁹ Triad 14, Third Series. In the “Historical Memorial,” it is said that they were led to the countries about the Dead Sea; and the expedition is called one of “the three deprivationary delusions of the Isle of Britain.”—See *Iolo MSS.* p. 42. In Triad 8, of the same series, it is explained, that the “one thousand” mentioned in addition to the “sixty-three thousand” were cavalry. In two other Triads (Tr. 40, First Series, and Tr. 5, Second Series), the number is stated as “sixty-one thousand men.”

left behind. The law of nations did not, any more than the law of the land, require that these should handle a weapon of offence; "for, without privilege and protection to wisdom, and piety, and political sciences, kindreds at war could not be tranquilised."¹ Whilst these, therefore, had an opportunity of holding their meetings, little or no strange error could creep into the native system.

Though the Scandinavian expedition undoubtedly affected Cymru, and drained it of a considerable portion of its youth, yet it is worthy of notice, that there is no allusion whatever made to the circumstance in the "Genealogy of Iestyn, son of Gwrgant,"—in which events relating to the Silurian government are chronicled.

Nevertheless we are informed, in the lineage in question, that the indigenous Druidism of the country was forgotten, to some extent, before the time of Tegid, son of Baran; and it is intimated that, until then, the meetings of the Bards were not, at all times, regularly and duly held. Tegid was brother to Llyr of Defective Speech, who succeeded him on the throne. It is said of him:—

"Tegid, son of Baran, was a wise king and a good Bard. He enacted good regulations for learning and knowledge, and caused the restoration of the old learning and knowledge, which were well nigh become lost: and he instituted a council of Bards and Druids, as of old."²

¹ Welsh Laws, &c., vol. ii. p. 517.

² See Iolo MSS. pp. 7, 8.

THE BATTLE OF ARGOED LLWYFEIN.

A POEM BY TALIESIN.

(See "*Myvyrian Archaiology*," vol. I. p. 53.)

TRANSLATED BY THE LATE MR. WILLIAM WHITEHEAD.

MORNING rose, the issuing sun
Saw the dreadful fight begun,
And that sun's descending ray
Closed the battle, closed the day.
Fflamddwyn pour'd his rapid bands,
Legions four o'er Rheged's lands;
The numerous host, from side to side,
Spread destruction wild and wide,
From Argoed's summits forest crown'd
To steep Arfynydd's utmost bound.
Short their triumph, short their sway,
Born and ended with the day.

Flush'd with conquest, Fflamddwyn
said,
Boastful, at his army's head—
"Strive not to oppose the stream;
Redeem your lands, your lives redeem;
Give me pledges," Fflamddwyn cried.
"Never!" Urien's son replied.
Owen of the mighty stroke,
Kindling, as the hero spoke;
Cenau, Coel's blooming seer
Caught the flame, and grasp'd the
spear:—
"Shall Coel's issue pledges give
To th' insulting foe, and live?
Never such be Britain's shame;
Never, till the mangled frame
Like some vanquish'd lion, lie
Drench'd in blood, and bleeding die!"

The battle of Llwyfein was fought between Urien, Prince of Rheged, and Ida, King of Northumberland, in the sixth century. The Saxon king is called "Fflamddwyn" (or Flame-bearer) in the poem. See further notes on this composition, appended to a prose translation in the *Myv. Arch.* v. i. p. 54.

Day advanced; and ere the sun
Reach'd the radiant point of noon,
Urien came with fresh supplies.
"Rise, ye sons of Cambria, rise!
Spread your banners to the foe;
Spread them on the mountain's brow.
Lift your lances high in air,
Friends and brothers of the fair;
Rush like torrents down the steep,
Through the vales in myriads sweep;
Fflamddwyn never can sustain
The force of our united train."

Havoc, havoc raged around,
Many a carcase strew'd the ground;
Ravens drank the purple flood,
Ravens' plumes were dyed in blood.
Frighted crowds from place to place
Eager, hurrying, breathless, pale,
Spread the news of their disgrace,
Trembling as they told the tale.

These are Taliesin's rhymes,
These shall live to distant times;
And the Bard's prophetic rage
Animate a future age.

Child of sorrow, child of pain,
Never may I smile again,
If, till all-subduing death
Close these eyes, and stop this breath,
Ever I forget to raise
My grateful songs to Urien's praise.

CORRESPONDENCE.

THE CAMBRIAN JOURNAL.

To the Editor of the Cambrian Journal.

SIR,—As an improvement to the contents of the Journal, permit me to suggest the propriety of devoting three or four pages in each Number for biographical notices of deceased natives of Wales who were authors, or who otherwise distinguished themselves by their intellectual attainments, useful inventions, or as benefactors to their country—but whose names do not occur in Williams's *Eminent Welshmen*. The notices should be extended or shortened, according to the merits and reputation of the individuals described; but they should be sufficiently comprehensive to preserve their memory from oblivion. In perusing the Welsh periodicals of the day, I have often felt the want of a good Appendix to Mr. Williams's work, which such notices would be calculated to supply the place of, if they should be drawn up on his plan.

I would also recommend that the first number of the Journal in each year should contain a complete List of the Books, Magazines and Newspapers, Welsh and English, which had been published in Wales during the previous year; together with that of Welsh books, and books relating to Welsh subjects, published in England. The title-page should be given in full, as well as the size of, and the number of pages in each publication. The Journal by this list would supply an annual directory of the current literature of Wales, and would become thereby the accredited organ of the nation. An attempt at something of a similar kind was made in the *Cambrian Quarterly Magazine* about thirty years ago, but the plan was not thoroughly carried out, as it doubtless might have been. Welsh periodicals have more than trebled since then, and would now present a respectable proportion to the amount of population.—I remain, &c.,

T. JAMES.

To the Editor of the Cambrian Journal.

SIR,—I have read the observations of the worthy Mr. Ap Morris, and I very much wish I could call him a *worthy* Welshman; but that I cannot possibly do, so long as he confesses that "*he has no knowledge of Welsh literature!*" But I am obliged to him for reminding me of a promise I made to continue the account of Families out of Wales settled in Ireland. I shall be sorry if I so expressed myself as to lead him to believe that I thought the Le Poers, the Flemings, Stackpoles, Cauntetons, Stourtons, Cantelupes, &c., were of aboriginal British blood. On referring to my letter, which he alludes to, I find I actually did call them *Norman* settlers in Wales, and inferred that these Normans, or their sons or descendants, *afterwards* settled in Ireland. I must observe, too, that I do not find that I mentioned the

name of Stourton at all; therefore the worthy Mr. Ap Morris has evidently misquoted me.

I think I need not pursue this subject any further, therefore I will resume the account of the descendants of these settlers for the reign of Edward I.

The first I find named is John Harold, most probably one of the descendants of Harold, the founder of Haroldston, near Haverfordwest, co. Pembroke, the ruins of whose castle or mansion are still to be seen there.

Robert, son of John le Brun.

Roger de Cantelupe, whose ancestor probably founded Cantelupeston, *alias* Cantleston, in co. Pembroke.

David de Barri.

Gilbert de Angulo, from Nangle, near Milford Haven.

Peter Stakpole, from Stackpole, co. Pembroke, now Lord Cawdor's seat.

The above appear to have been all settled in co. Dublin.

2 E. I.—Thomas de Carew had the manors of Castle Corth, Moyele, Rosbeg, and Athfada, in co. Cork.

Walter, son of Walter Russell.

Richard de Karrew, in co. Cork.

The heirs of Gerald de Prendergast, John de Cogan, William, son of Adam de la Roche, Geoffrey de Carew, Gerald, son of Maurice de Prendergast, Henry de Caunteton, Philip, son of Robert de Barry, in co. Cork.

Robert de Carrew=

William= Robert

Robert=Isabella, 2 E. I.

John de Penrice married Juliana, widow of John de Cogan, and daughter of Gerald Fitz-Maurice, eldest son of Maurice Fitz-Gerald, and heir to her brother Maurice.

William, son of David Barret.

John, son of William le Poher, late sheriff of Cork.

All the above appear to have had lands in co. Cork.

In the county of Carlow we find,—William, son of Adam de Kantynton, Henry, son of John le Jeofne (? the Youngs of co. Pembroke).

In co. Wexford are,—William de Valence, and John de Prendergast.

In Drogheda,—Juliana, widow of Roger Crumpe.

2 & 3 E. I.—Michael de Angulo, and Henry de London (probably from the De Londons of Glamorganshire).

Walter de la Haye was sheriff of co. Waterford.

Matthew le Poher and his wife Dionysia.

In Connaught are,—Howel ap Crannota (? Gronowa) le Waleys.

Gerald, son of David de Prendergast.

In 5 E. I. Philip de Angulo was in co. Meath.

John, son of John le Poher, in co. Waterford, and William de London.

William and Robert, sons of Robert de Carew.

William de London was sheriff of Tipperary, 5 E. I.

Gerald, fil. Maurice de Prendergast, and Geffrey de Prendergast, in co. Tipperary.

Henry, son of Griffin de Rupe, in co. Limerick.

Nicholas Crompe.

7 E. I.—Thomas de Valle, William le Fleming, serjeant of O Drone, and Thomas le Waleis, all in co. Carlow.

7 E. I. in co. Cork there were,—Maurice de Carew, the heirs of Gerald de Prendergast, John de Cogan, Richard de Carew of Dunmark, Jordan, son of Adam de Caunteton, John de Chapel, Robert de Capella, John de Monemuth and Cecilia his wife, Eustace, son of Geffrey de Cogan, Gerald, son of Henry de Prendergast, Thomas de London, Owen de Gildesford of Kilkenny, David, son of William de Caunteton.

In co. Limerick, in 8 E. I. were,—Henry de Capella and Henry his son. Also, the heirs of Robert de Dundovenald, Henry, son of Griffin de Roche, and Nicholas Crompt.

In co. Tipperary, 8 E. I. were,—Galfr. de Prendergast.

In co. Carlow,—Reginald Russell.

In Connaught, 8 E. I. were,—Philip de Angulo and Thomas Fitz-Jordan. (? If this last was derived from Jordan of Jordanston, co. Pembroke.)

9 & 10 E. I. in co. Limerick we find,—David de Barry, Thomas de Carew, and Geffrey de Prendergast.

11 E. I.—William de Prendergast and Roysa his wife, of co. Wexford, seem to have held lands in co. Louth.

11 E. I.—In co. Limerick, David de Barry held three knight's fees in Killyde of the heirs of Thomas de Carew, who was in ward at this time; also, Richard Linfaunt, Robert Linfaunt, John de Cogan, junior, Galfrid de Rupe, Henry, fil. Gri., Nicholas Crumpe, and the heirs of Robert de Dundovenald, held lands in co. Limerick.

12 E. I.—Stephen, Bishop of Waterford, Justiciary of Ireland, passed over into Wales in a certain galley which the corporation of Cork repaired.

12 E. I.—The corporation of Drogheda sent 125 crannocks of wheat to the king in Wales, for which they took credit for £17 13s. 10d.

John de Cogan, senior,
seized of the manor of Rath

John, junior,
seized of the manor of Bearwen

John de Cogan, son and heir, had livery 30th April, 9 E. I.

Maurice de Carew, heir of Richard de Carew.

8, 9 & 10 E. I.—Walter de la Haye was sheriff of Waterford.

9 E. I.—Mathew le Poher and Dyonia his wife.

John, son of John le Poer.

Robert de Carew=Isabel.

(*Vide prius.*)

William, 9 E. I.

Eustace, son of Eustace le Waleys, Joan, widow of John le Poher, William le Waleys of Rathronan; all the above in co. Waterford.

8 to 11 E. I. occur the names of Maurice de Carew, Gerald de Prendergast, Galfrid and William ditto.

Alexander de Roche=

David de Roche=Amicia, 8 E. I.

David de Cauntyn-ton=

William=

David=Eva, 8. E. I.

9 to 12 E. I. in co. Kildare,—Maurice de Prendergast of Tipperary, John, son of Philip de Staunton, John Llewelyn, John, fil. David Ithel. About this time Richard L'Enfaunt (? Malefant) paid a fine of two hundred marks for ravishing Fyngol, the wife of James de Bermingham.

9 to 12 E. I. in co. Kerry were,—Simon Ugan (? Wogan), William de Londoniis, Simon Cor, Ralph Brun, and Wentliana his wife.

In co. Tipperary, 10 to 12 E. I.—Thomas Hudde of Huddleston (? if descended from Lucas de Hwd, *alias* Hood, ancestor of the Owens of Henlyss, co. Pembroke). Sibilla, widow of John, son of William Reynald (? if these Reynalds descend from the Reynalds, lords of Reynaldston, co. Pembroke).

10 to 12 E. I.—Galfrid Prendergast, in co. Tipperary, paid one hundred shillings fine for not coming to Parliament.

David, ap Philip, ap Odo de Barry.

10 to 12 E. I.—Agnes, widow of David le Waleys, co. Tipperary.

15 to 16 E. I.—John Punchardon, seneschal of co. Kildare: probably descended from the founders of Punchardston, co. Pembroke.

Osbert Cod.

Galfrid del Esse in co. Limerick.

In co. Limerick, 15 E. I.—Joan, widow of Simon le Fleming, Peter le Butiller, David fil. Henrici de Rupe, Bertelo le Fleming, Gerald de Prendergast.

In co. Kerry, John Brekenok, Philip le Waleys, Henry ap Rys, William le Fleming, John de Penrys and Juliana his wife. The Penrys family held Penrys Castle in Gower, co. Glamorgan.

In co. Carlow, anno 1286.—Thomas de Caunteton, Robert and Walter de Valle, William Cadel, John and Adam, sons of John de Pencoyt, John de Hastynges, William and Robert de Caunteton, John, son of John de la Roche, Walter le Donne, &c., executors of the will of William le Donne.

In co. Tipperary.—John de Dundovenald, John, fil. Galfridi de

Cogan, Galfrid de la Frein, John le Jeofne de Cresconerath, William Russell de Rathcorfy, William de Prendergast, William le Ercedekne, Candelan le Waleys, Walter, fil. Benedicti le Poher, and Reymund Crumpe.

Lands of Henry Cod, deceased, at Balylow, co. Wexford.

Lands of Roger Oweyn, of Balydugan and Waspayl, co. Dublin, deceased, delivered to John Oweyn, his son, 17 E. I.

14 to 16 E. I.—Rys le Waleys, Maurice de Carew de Cadwelly (? Kidwelly), Heres Gerald de Prendergast, Walter and Maurice Stakpole, Gerald, fil. David de Prendergast, John and Richard de Cogan.

16 E. I.—Thomas de Roche, William, fil. Symonis de Cantelupe, John, son of Henry, son of Lucas de Roche, John de Cogan, Symon de Wyntonia (Winchester) Richard and David Philip de Kent, John de la Roche, Gilbert le Waleys, John le Poher, senior, Walter Clement, George de Roche, John, son of Michael

John le Jeofne, Maurice Russel, Raymond Kenefig.

William le Waleys.

William Cod John Cod Nicholas Cod

Hilaria Fleming, widow of Richard, son of Adam de Stackpole, Hamund de Cauntyn-ton, of Oth Cardyn, and Odo de Fraxinet.

In com. Waterford, 15 & 16 E. I.—William Poer=Wentliana, David Cradok, John, fil. William Le Poer, John, son of Michael Bertelot, Walter Cod, John, fil. Robti. de Carew, John Ailward, Henry, fil. Jac. de Valle.

In co. Louth, 15 to 17 E. I.—Walter Jordan and Christina his wife, Gilbert le Graunt and Alicia his wife, Adam de Bodenham and Joan his wife, Galfrid de Sutton=Alicia.

John, son of William Cogan of Honespulle.

Adam Ketyng (? Gethin) of Blenlysother.

1287-9.—In co. Dublin, Philip de Roche of Culcleth, Philip de Prendergast, David le Waleys, Madok le Waleys, Philip, fil. Rici. Cor, David, fil. Rici. de Prendergast, Jordan de Angulo, John Heyrun, Henry le Fleming, Stephen de Byreford, David Duket, John Meyler.

17 to 19 E. I.—John Cod, John de Cogan, Odo de Barry, Robert de Roche of Lismore, William, fil. David de Cauntyn-ton, Gerald, fil. David de Prendergast, John de Cogan custos heredis Eustachii de Cogan, Gerald de Prendergast de Kylblane, and ? Matilda, ux. ej., Philip de Stanton=Joan, Alexander, fil. David de Rupe, Joan, widow of Simon le Fleming, Eva del Aungle, William Bateman, Robert Boneville, Roger Burford, Galfrid Constantyn, Eustach. de Rupe, Almaric de St. Amand.—I remain, &c.,

THOMAS PHILLIPPS.

Middle Hill, April 2, 1861.

REVIEWS.

MORFA RHUDDLAN; or, the Battle of Rhuddlan Marsh; with an English version of Ieuan Glan Geirionydd's celebrated Ode, and Historical Illustrations. By ALFRED. Ruthin: J. Clarke. 1861.

The name "Alfred" is now pretty well known among our countrymen, as being that bardically chosen by an English gentleman, who has acquired our language, and laboured hard in the cause of Cymric literature—Professor Rushton, of Queen's College, Cork. It is truly refreshing to meet with men of this calibre—men who "love our nation," and can appreciate the beauties of its poetry and music—men who, conscious of the rich treasures which lie concealed in the venerable Cymraeg, are determined to overcome all difficulties, in order to make themselves acquainted therewith. How completely do they put to shame those false sons of Cymru, who are never happy but when they are disparaging their mother tongue, and dooming to oblivion all that would remind them of the former grandeur of their country.

The poem under consideration is a translation of that popular song which was written by the late Glan Geirionydd, upon the battle of Morfa Rhuddlan, or Rhuddlan Marsh, and adapted to the old national air which bears that title. "Alfred" proposed to himself a difficult task, on account of the frequent recurrence of rhyme, which is characteristic of the original. Nevertheless, we think that he has succeeded very creditably in producing a version, which may serve as a fair specimen to the English public of the modern ballads of Wales.

We cannot resist the temptation of transferring into our pages the learned remarks which "Alfred" has introduced by way of "historical illustrations," as well as those with which he describes the characteristics of the Ode itself:—

"Time was, when we used to hear much about our Norman ancestors. They figured in parliamentary orations, and in speeches at agricultural dinners: they rounded many a period, and were generally sure of applause. But since modern scholars have turned their attention to the study of ethnology and the history of races; since they have proved that the majority of English commoners are originally Anglo-Saxons, and that consequently John Smith or Tom Ball cannot be lineally descended from Montague, De Courcy, or Villiers, a change of public feeling has taken place. We hear less and less of the Normans: they have vanished even from agricultural dinners; and public speakers run into the other extreme of praising the Anglo-Saxons on all occasions. It is Anglo-Saxon energy, determination, perseverance, which do everything; the liberty of the country, the glory of the constitution, everything good and great is ascribed to this original.

"Certainly, our grandfathers erred in overlooking the early history of England, and supposing that our national glory commenced with William the Conqueror. It was not until scholars undertook the study of the Anglo-

Saxon language and antiquities, that the cloud of ignorance was dispelled, and the first formation of the English constitution was properly explained.

"But we should not stop here. If the early history of *England* was important, the early history of *Britain* has an equal claim upon our attention. There seems to be no reason why critical investigation should not extend to the Britons, who were here before the Saxons came; and there can be no doubt that careful inquiry would dissipate many popular errors. For instance, no opinion is more common than this, that the Saxons utterly exterminated the greater part of the Britons, and drove the remainder to Wales. This doctrine is taught to every English child in the schools. But there is every reason to suspect that this opinion is founded on gross error. We can trace British, that is Cymric names, from Dumbarton, *i.e.*, Dun Breton (Fort Breton) on the Clyde, down to Carlisle (Caer-leol) and Pen-rith in Cumberland; and through Wales to the Tremordyns and Trevennons of Cornwall.

"We further know that the Anglo-Saxon invasion of *Britain*, (not of *England* as too frequently is stated, for the Anglo-Saxons invaded Britain to found *Engla-land*, the land of the Angles) was a work of time. For one or two hundred years the struggle was carried on, during which period the Angles and Saxons held the south and east, while the Britons held the north and west.

"In the north, the Angles who founded the kingdom of Northumbria contended against the Britons of the Strath-Clyde (*i.e.*, Clydes-dale, the valley of the Clyde) and Cumbria. This contest gave rise to the poems ascribed to Taliesin, many of which were written in praise of Urien, a chief who ruled in Rheged, a district supposed to correspond with Cumbria, or the modern Cumberland.

"In the centre, the Britons inhabiting the country now called Wales, held their own against the Middle Angles, who eventually founded the kingdom of Mercia. The struggle here was more keenly contested than elsewhere; and for many centuries the level land extending from Chester to Rhyl, and from Rhyl through the Vale of Clwyd to Corwen, was the great battleground of the two races. Briton and Saxon, Briton and Norman, fought successively. We shall find that three distinct engagements took place at Rhuddlan, each of which, though with unequal justice, claims the honour of having given rise to the celebrated air 'Morfa Rhuddlan,' which forms the subject of our notice.

"To the south, in Devon and Cornwall, the Britons maintained the honour of their country against the West Saxons, who afterwards founded the kingdom of Wessex. The struggle in this division has gained more world-wide fame than any of the other contests, from the circumstance that the name of the renowned *Arthur* was mixed up with the Cornish heroes. The fugitives from the south carried the legend over with them to Brittany, whence the story was conveyed into Normandy and other provinces of France. After the Norman conquest of England, the legend, now in a French form, was brought back to this country, was translated into English, as also into other tongues, and thus the fame of *Arthur* was spread as widely as the poetry of that day was known. The two great subjects of European romance in the middle ages were (1.) *Arthur* and the Knights of the Round Table; (2.) *Charlemagne* and his Paladins.

"Hence we take leave to doubt the assertion that the Anglo-Saxons exterminated the Britons. But moreover, does it never occur to our historians to ask, what the Saxons did for wives? It is absurd to suppose that they could bring over a constant supply of wives from Germany. They must, to a very great extent, have married British women; and the very words still used by English women to denote articles of dress and domestic work, afford proof of this:

gown is a Cymric word, so also *gusset*. Every woman who *darns* a stocking, reminds us of the Cymric word *darn*, signifying a 'piece.' We suspect that a very large number of Englishmen are British by the mother's side; and the mother's side is not a bad side. We further suggest that the sterling love of independence which characterises our nation has quite as much a British as a Saxon origin.

"Important, however, as these investigations may be to the historian and the ethnologist, it is impossible to pursue such an inquiry satisfactorily, without knowing the ancient language of Britain. But it has ever been the trick of our nation, to run the world over in search of foreign curiosities, and to neglect that which may be found in abundance at home. Here we live as in a rich storehouse of Cymric antiquities: the language is spoken throughout the Principality of Wales: there are valuable Cymric manuscripts in our public libraries: the very fields and mountain tops bear record to this day; and yet many of us are as indifferent as if Old Britain had no history at all.

"We cannot know a people without knowing their language. As Mr. Gladstone said some time ago, in his Inaugural Address at Edinburgh, 'The study of the ancients cannot be dissociated from the study of their language. There is a profound relation between thought and the investiture which it chooses for itself; and it is, as a general rule, most true that we cannot know men or nations, *unless we know their tongue*.' If this remark applies, as Mr. Gladstone intended it, to the history of the Greeks and Romans, it certainly applies with equal force to the history of our own people, our own kith and kin. A man who should attempt to write the history of Rome without knowing the language of Rome, would scarcely be more certain of failure, than one who surmises that he can understand the early history of Britain, while he is ignorant of the language of Britain. We set aside for the moment all considerations bearing upon the necessity of consulting the original sources. But just as an acquaintance with the vigorous Latin tongue is requisite to teach us the stern character of the Roman people, so a knowledge of the language and habits still preserved in Wales, is needful to make us familiar with the character of the Old Britons.

"Here prejudice comes in. People constantly ask, 'What is the *use* of learning Welsh?' Of no *use* at all, worthy friend, if you have no wish for anything beyond worldly honours, money, a fine house, and these outward things, wherein men deem themselves happy. But of very great use indeed to those who have a love for antiquity, and who feel that they have an ancient country to be proud of. The Welsh language is the title-deed of a Briton's inheritance. And for this reason we must ever admire the people of Wales, that they have held patriotism dearer than gold: that together with a love of their native language, they have maintained a respect for the traditions of their ancestors, a reverence for antiquity, and an ardent feeling of nationality.

"'Oh!' says another, 'but the Welsh have no literature.' This assertion is made, and repeated by hundreds of persons who cannot read one single line in any Welsh printed book. Ask such a person if he knows where Cymric manuscripts are preserved, and what those manuscripts contain,—he is reduced to silence, for he is totally ignorant of the matter. One very fluent gentleman, when informed that there were Cymric manuscripts of some importance in the British Museum and in the Bodleian at Oxford, replied, 'Well, if so, how is it that your Welsh friends have never favoured the world with the publication of these records?' The sarcasm was severe, and not altogether undeserved; but non-publication does not argue non-existence; and if our scholars do their duty, the reproach will be removed.

"There can be no doubt that, from very early times, Britain was the home

of poetry and music. According to tradition, the poems ascribed to Taliesin, Aneurin, and other primitive Bards, date from the sixth century. Modern critics have disputed the authenticity of these poems; and as the question is now debated with considerable warmth among Welsh scholars, we must suspend judgment until the matter has been more thoroughly investigated. Still, whatever differences of opinion may exist as to individual poets, and individual productions, no one can doubt that the gift of song has existed from time immemorial among the Cymry of Britain. This is satisfactorily proved by the ancient melodies which have been handed down and sung from generation to generation, time out of mind, in this country. Of these ancient melodies, the plaintive air known as 'Morfa Rhuddlan' is one of the best authenticated, and is connected by tradition with a defeat of the Cymry on the low ground or marsh extending from Rhuddlan to the sea.

"But there are no less than three engagements which took place in that neighbourhood:—

"(1.) Between the Cymry under Caradoc, and Offa, King of Mercia. We have seen that the Britons of Wales were constantly engaged in battles with the Middle Angles of Mercia. During the latter part of the eighth century (770–800), the Britons made vigorous attempts to recover the border land from Mercia, and by repeated attacks they drove the Saxons from the Severn. But they little knew the strength of Offa, who at that time swayed the Mercian sceptre. In the early part of his reign he seems to have been strengthening himself against his Saxon neighbours, and the comparative impunity of the Cymry encouraged them: but about 775 A.D., he turned his attention to them, and swept them back, again and again, into their own territories, which he devastated pitilessly.

"But the Britons did not easily learn submission, and constantly harassed the border: wherefore, about 790 A.D., after seeking in vain to restrain them by other means, he annexed to Mercia the whole March or Border Land, from north to south, and caused a vast intrenchment to be raised from the Dee to the Wye, so shutting up the Cymry in a narrower district than they ever before possessed. The remains of this work, called after its maker's name, *Clawdd Offa*, or 'Offa's Dyke,' may be seen at the present day. The border land thus seized was not depopulated of its old inhabitants, but all the power and authority was in the hands of the Saxons; just as was the case in the border country of Devonshire and Dorsetshire, which was called Welsh-Kind, from the numerical predominance of the British in that district. But not even Offa's Dyke could keep down the fiery spirit of the Britons: once and again had Offa to cross it, in order to chastise them for invading his kingdom; and in the very year of his death, 795 or 796 A.D., Caradoc, King of Gwynedd, (North Wales), and many other distinguished men, were killed in Rhuddlan, in the Vale of Clwyd, as they were engaged in one of those marauding excursions. It is said that the plaintive and ancient Welsh tune, called 'Morfa Rhuddlan' was composed as a lament on this occasion.

"(2.) The next battle at Rhuddlan occurs in the reign of Edward the Confessor. By this time, the various Saxon kingdoms had long been united under one sceptre; but the several divisions of the kingdom were under the administration of powerful earls; and thus we find that the Earl of Mercia was constantly brought into relation with the Cymry of Wales.

"Gruffydd, the restless King of Gwynedd, was engaged in repeated struggles with the Saxons; but it appears that in the year 1056 he made peace, and swore 'that he would be to King Edward a faithful and unbetraying under-king.' Harold, afterwards King of England, was now the most powerful among the earls, and had the chief management under the feeble Edward. Alfgar had succeeded to the earldom of Mercia, but being banished (1058 A.D.)

he had recourse to Gruffydd, King of Gwynedd, and by his aid recovered the earldom. Harold was not sufficiently powerful, or King Edward was too irresolute, to chastise the insolence of the Mercian earl; but Gruffydd, who had so recently sworn fealty to Edward, and who would only be too ready to take advantage of any weak indulgence shown to him, was pointed out for vengeance. On Christmas Day, 1063 A.D., Harold with a sufficient force crossed the borders, and marched straight upon Rhuddlan, where Gruffydd was. But the Welsh king was aware of his coming, and being no match for him in such a fight, hastily embarked and fled. Gruffydd had sagaciously provided a fleet, but he could not extricate it from the port, where the vessels were laid up for the winter; and the Saxon earl, missing his expected prey, gave up town, and palace, and fleet, to the flames. 'Morfa Rhuddlan,' if not now composed, would be sung by many a Bard with a deeper strain of pathos; and singers and hearers would feel how fatal that spot had been to the glory of the Cymry.

"(3.) We now come to the Anglo-Norman times. William the Conqueror achieved in person the reduction of Chester, and defeated the Britons who dwelt around it. He erected a castle there, and left it under the wardership of a Flemish baron, who was greatly harassed by the Welsh. On the other hand, Offa's Dyke, which had been conventionally the boundary of Wales, was not respected by the Normans; and Hugh Lupus, the second holder of the castle and fee of Chester, instead of keeping behind his battlements to await the inroads of the Welsh, resolved to carry the war into the enemy's country. Accordingly, he set out, accompanied by his vassals, and soon won the whole of the present county of Flint, which he annexed to his earldom. A castle was built at Rhuddlan, and a sanguinary conflict at that place added a third mournful association to the two which already marked it as a place of woe for the Cymry.

"It is not possible at this time, to ascertain beyond all doubt, with which of the three battles the air of 'Morfa Rhuddlan' was originally connected. Popular tradition says that it was composed after the engagement between Offa and Carádoc; and the Rev. Thomas Price in his *History of Wales (Hanes Cymru)*, when speaking of Offa's victory and the death of Carádoc, adds, 'It is maintained that the old Welsh tune called *Morfa Rhuddlan* commemorates this disaster.' Here we have nothing positive; and in the way of strict historical investigation, we can find nothing to fix the date. The melody alone has been handed down to us, and as far as we are aware, no ancient words have accompanied it, from which we might obtain information.

"But in matters of this kind, it is not safe to throw away tradition altogether. The victory of Offa took hold of the public mind much more forcibly than the subsequent battles appear to have done. Every peasant in North Wales has heard of *Clawdd Offa*, the contests of Offa with the Cymry, and the death of Carádoc in the action of Morfa Rhuddlan; but probably not a soul among them has ever heard a word about Harold or Hugh Lupus, or knows that either one or the other crossed the border. And it is a curious fact, that the Welsh peasantry have a traditionary knowledge of events which occurred between the Anglo-Saxon invasion and the Norman conquest, much more accurate than the acquaintance which they possess of the Anglo-Norman period.

"Popular tradition then would lead us to connect the melody of 'Morfa Rhuddlan' with the victory of Offa.

"The poetic feeling would lead us in the same direction. The distant, the long past, anything which is *far off*, either in time or space, awakens the poetic imagination, and kindles the fire of the Bard. For this reason,

poetry and antiquity must ever have much in common, just as distance lends enchantment to the view.

"Similarly, a deserted, broken-down house in a neighbouring street is an eyesore to the passengers, but an ivy-mantled tower in ruins, is the delight of artists. If then, a poet, when about to write upon the subject of Morfa Rhuddlan, had a choice of three battles, the probability is, that he would prefer the most ancient of the three.

"It would indeed have been a matter of regret, if the ancient melody, associated with so many emotions, and so dear to the people of Wales, had remained unwedded to suitable words. A bard of our own time, *Ieuan Glan Geirionydd*, has produced a short poem, which has merited the approval of the best judges. The subject which he selected was the fall of Carádoc in defence of his country against Offa, king of Mercia. The battle is described in a few graphic touches: the confusion of defeat is briefly told; and we learn that Carádoc's Bard, on being informed of his master's death, calls for his harp, and composes the pathetic melody of 'Morfa Rhuddlan.'

The poet enhances the charm of his work, by giving, in the few opening lines, the description of a quiet sunset in the Vale of Clwyd. All is calm, and nature is in deep repose; but suddenly, the mind of the poet is filled with recollections of the battle which took place on that very spot; his eye sees the combatants; he discerns the whole battle, and the consequent massacre."

The poem follows here, both in the Welsh and English, after which come these observations:—

"The chief merit of this Ode consists in its graphic power. Every true poet has more or less of the painter in him; and in both there are varieties of natural gift. Some have an eye for external nature; others have a more ideal power of realising the unseen, and calling up visions of the past. We recollect conversing with a friend upon the description of the Battle of Salamis, given by the poet *Æschylus* in his play of the 'Persians.' In answer to the inquiry whether he could realise the scene, he said—'*I was there.*' And let us remember that there are diversities among readers, as well as among poets. Some persons have so sluggish an imagination, that with all the aids of poetry, and pictorial illustrations to boot, they fail to form an adequate conception of a great event. In order to put this matter to the test, it is sometimes useful to visit the scene of a remarkable action, and after endeavouring to realise it, then to *write down* in prose or verse, a description of the thoughts or pictures which occur to the mind. If the same scene has been described by an able writer, and especially by a poet, it is most instructive to compare our own efforts with the work of a master hand. For example, the visitors to Rhuddlan might exercise themselves in depicting the Battle of Rhuddlan Marsh, and then compare their productions with the dramatic picture of *Glan Geirionydd*.

"Another point worthy of remark is the brevity and wonderful terseness of this Ode. The scene is drawn in broad outline, and in a few bold sketches, leaving the rest to be filled up by the reader's imagination. In the second stanza we see the shields dimly appearing in the twilight; we hear the clash of the words, the hissing of the arrows, and the thundering charges of cavalry, while high over all, the voice of the chieftain urges his men to conquer or die. It is impossible to convey the idea in fewer words than the poet has used, and every word is a picture.

"Beside the scene of the battle itself, we have, as a background, the women and children standing at the doors of their houses upon the surrounding hills, anxiously watching the fate of the combat, praying for their country; and at

last, when fortune turned against them, preparing to fly for refuge to the hills of Caernarvon. This part of the description is most happily conceived, and as well expressed.

"The versification is peculiar, and extremely difficult. Every stanza of the original consists of eight lines, of eleven syllables each, rhyming in couplets: so far, all is very simple. But in addition to this, each line contains three internal rhymes: the movement is

Fá la dó | fá la dó | fá la dó | fá la;

and all the syllables marked *do* rhyme with one another: thus,

Cilia'r haul draw dros ael fryniau hael Arfon,
Lleni nós sy'n myn'd dros ddol a rhos weithion,

and so on. Consequently, adding together these internal rhymes, and the rhymes at the end of the lines, there are *thirty-two* rhyming words in each stanza: altogether 160 rhyming words in the five stanzas. No poet in the world could write a very long poem under such conditions.

"In attempting an English version, we never thought of imitating this excessive refinement of the original. But we have been guilty of one or two liberties, for we must offer an explanation. The general rule of pronunciation in the Welsh language, is to lay the accent upon the last syllable but one. This is an almost invariable rule. The consequence is, that Welsh poetry has a great tendency to the trochaic movement,

fá la | fá la | fá la | fá la.

"Now in English, when a verse ends with a dissyllable, and when the accent falls upon the first of the two syllables, the rule is, that both syllables must rhyme, as 'morrow' 'sorrow,' 'ever' 'sever,' and so forth. These are called double rhymes in English. But a glance at the original of *Morfa Rhuddlan* will show that the Welsh require a rhyme in the last syllable only, as 'Arfon' 'weithion,' 'llwyni,' 'dystewi,' &c.

"But since it would have been difficult to find in English eight dissyllabic rhymes for each stanza, we have constructed the second and fourth lines (in each stanza) of ten syllables: and this does not at all interfere with the music, where a minim can be used instead of two crotchets.

"Further to preserve the character of the original, it was necessary to end each stanza with the words '*Morfa Rhuddlan*.' To have altered this would have been to change the structure of the Ode in a manner which no translator should attempt. But what was to be done with such a word as *Rhuddlan*? *Carádoc* and *Offa* combined could not get over such a difficulty as that. In this dilemma, we have pressed the words 'Britain' and 'Arvon' into the service, as the nearest we could find; and if our readers are not satisfied, they are quite at liberty to discover something better.

"The melody known as '*Morfa Rhuddlan*' dates, as we have said, from a remote antiquity. It is in the minor key, and is generally written in *G* minor. All those who are acquainted with the music of the Celtic races, (Welsh, Irish, or Scotch,) are aware that it has a tendency to the melancholy notes of the minor key. Some have accounted for this circumstance, in the case of the Scotch and Irish music, by supposing that it arose from the peculiar construction of the pipe, the instrument chiefly used in Scotland and Ireland. But that this can hardly be correct, we infer from two considerations: (1.) That the same peculiarity is observable in Welsh music, although the national instrument of Wales is the harp; and (2.) That the national instrument of Ireland was originally not the pipe but the *harp*, an emblem which still remains upon the national escutcheon of Ireland.

"We are inclined to look for the origin of this plaintive character, by considering the natural temperament of the Celtic races.

"In reviewing their music generally, we observe three distinct kinds: (1.) the martial; (2.) the frolicsome; and (3.) the pathetic. Not only is it the fact that the third, the pathetic kind of music, forms a very large proportion of the whole, resulting from the Celtic custom of wailing for the dead, but even in the martial and frolicsome pieces, there is an occasional minor passage, and accidentals frequently occur, running for a moment into the minor,—then dashing back into the major. The truth is, that there is an under-current of pathos and melancholy in the Celtic temperament, even in its wildest moods; and this forms the peculiar charm of Celtic music. We have sometimes fancied that this poetic temper renders the Celtic people less able to push their way in the work-day world, and to cope with matter of fact. They sometimes lament when they should act, and indulge in poetic reminiscences of the past when they should struggle with the daily present."

ON THE TENBY BONE-CAVES, and the Question of the Antiquity of the Human Race, as inferred from certain Flint Implements found in them. Tenby: R. Mason. Price One Shilling.

This valuable little pamphlet is by the Rev. G. N. Smith, Rector of Gumfreston, as it was read by him in brief before the Geological Section of the British Association, at Oxford, in 1860. The subject treated on is one of great interest, and we have much pleasure in calling our readers' attention to it. We extract the following from the work:—

"Among all the wonders that the prevailing study of the earth's construction has brought to light, there is not one more striking than the presence here in England of great quantities of the bones of the elephant, rhinoceros, hippopotamus, lion, hyæna, wolf, and other large and small wild animals, known to inhabit tropical regions, which are found collected together in certain natural caves, of that kind of rock chiefly called the mountain limestone, which is so fully developed in the neighbourhood of Tenby.

"At Tenby the fact appears in its most striking aspect; for such caves occur, and such bones have been obtained from them in Caldy Island: now to suppose that herds of elephants, and hippopotami, and families of lions, tigers, and hyænas, could have lived and been sustained on a small island, which is all but a mass of solid rock, is as impossible to imagine as that all the human inhabitants of the earth should find room to dwell there together. Where are the mighty rivers and lakes in which those could wallow; where, the dense forests in which these could roam; and where the climate favourable to their existence and increase? For whatever may be said of some of these animals, being occasionally found in high latitudes, that fact is barely sufficient to account for the existence of such numbers of them here. Have the poles of earth indeed been 'turn'd askance twice ten degrees and more from the sun's axis,' and that very lately too; or may some other catastrophe account for all this? Be the answer what it may, here, beyond all doubt are the bones of these creatures, taken from certain caves in Caldy Island, and in the mainland: some from 'the Oyle,' on a spur of the Ridgeway; and quantities from caves in Gower, and elsewhere. No less than 1,100 horns of deer, mostly shed horns, have been lately exhumed from one cave in Gower only.

"The first of these caves, now to be described, was discovered about twenty years ago by the quarrymen in blasting the cliff overhanging the sea, on the

north face of the island. It had no external opening at that time apparent. The walls were vertical, or nearly so; the strata being, as they often are hereabouts, perpendicular to the plane of the horizon. This cave was formed by a portion of the stratum, of considerable thickness, having disappeared at the place. Both the walls and the roof have since been removed by the quarrymen, and transported in the routine of their trade, to Ilfracombe or Barnstaple; so that no cave exists there now; and the old earthy floor which contained the bones, in a disturbed state, is covered with soil, and fragments of the blasted rock.

"While the cave yet remained, bones of the following animals were extracted from it, together with three or four sacks of undescribed bones, which the quarrymen who first entered it sent over into Devonshire by the next stone vessel to be sold for manure. The mammoth (*elephas primigenius*,) the rhinoceros, (*rhinoceros leptorhinus*,) the lion, or tiger, (*felis tigris*,) the hyæna, (*hyæna spelæa*,) the bear, (*ursus spelæus*,) the horse, (*equus caballus*,) the ox, the deer, the wolf, the fox—in short the usual cave osseous remains of extinct, together with bones of the pig, the sheep, and other recent animals, some of which are identical with those which still graze in the pastures, or inhabit the hollow cliffs of the valleys, concerning which it is not necessary here to be precise as to species. Here also were found the bones of fish, and the dorsal spines of a species of ray. The elevation of this cave is upwards of 100 feet above the sea.

"As to the junction of Caldy with the mainland, it was distinctly remembered by old labourers, twenty years ago, that at very low tides carts used to cross from Giltar to St. Margaret's; which latter island was connected with Caldy in such a way as to be also reached by carts, if we may infer as much by the remains of a road there.

"The Vale of St. Florence too, it may be worth recording, appears to have recently undergone considerable changes of level. There is a place on the hill side, half up that ancient estuary, still bearing the name of 'The Old Quay.' Oscillations are the law rather than the exception, in regard to the question of the immobility and repose of the surface of the earth.

"But now let us look around us as we stand on the Castle Hill—or rather think what meets the eye of the mind from that elevation at all points. How many remains of terrestrial vegetation are exposed to view by the equinoctial tides all around the coast. They occur, for instance, at Caldy in front, at Portelew to the right hand, and at Amroth to the left; indeed, everywhere stumps and prostrate limbs of the oak and fir, not even greatly altered in colour internally, are constantly to be seen; together with the remains of a thick growth of underwood, the hazel roots yet retaining about their forks the very nuts that grew upon the branches. These cannot be very old: the shore then must recently have sunk beneath the sea in which these stumps stand rooted. Have we here the vestiges of those ancient forests we were looking for just now, in which the animals roamed, whose bones filled the caves we are describing? And did such areas as Broadmoor, and Kingsmoor, and some of the water-levelled valleys that terminate in the sea hereabouts, form the beds of those great lakes and rivers we were just now inquiring after, in which they wallowed? One thing is certain, that in dredging among these stumps in the bay, the horns of ancient deer, corresponding with those of the cave deposits, are found; as in like manner the teeth of elephants are frequently dredged up on the Norfolk coast; and that whole trees, capable of being used for building purposes, are dug up in the adjoining valleys.

"A question here suggests itself: Have not the students of these pleistocene strata a little too much neglected the written documents still in possession of the descendants of the ancient inhabitants of the country—the Welsh, or British,

strictly so called? Of the Cantrev-y-Gwaelod there is not only a general tradition, but even the names of certain of the '100 overwhelmed towns and cities,' of the harbours, and of the eminent men who governed the district, are still preserved in the poems and triads which have been collected and published in the *Myvyrian Archaeology*, and elsewhere. The 'Sunken Hundred' appears to be in the same state, from what may be discerned of it at low tides, with the forest-sites we have referred to. All this then seems to suggest the possibility that the time when the animals lived here, whose bones are collected in the caves of Tenby, may not have been very long ago; and though it is not intended to imply that these extinct animals lived here in England within the modern historic period, much less at the time of the subsidence of the bay of Cardigan, about the year A.D. 500, yet may not those recent subsidences of the land be but the continuation of that action which separated us from the continent, and examples of the way in which that separation was *last* effected?

"A very brief notice of the *second cave* at Caldy, chiefly to record the discovery and site of it, will be sufficient; because when it was broken into for the first time, about two years ago, the quarrymen shovelled the surface bones, of which there were a good many, into the sea, and it shared, after a little time, the fate of the first cave, except that the floor is said to be still intact. A few bones and teeth have, however, been preserved.

"Of the *third cave*, perhaps the particulars at this time will be most interesting, because it contained, with the remains of some of the carnivora mentioned above, flint implements of human construction.

"This cave is situated on the mainland, and has a large open entrance always known to the inhabitants by the name of 'the Oyle.' It runs far into the rock, and is easily entered to the distance of forty-eight yards, and further with a little difficulty. It was first examined archæologically, about twenty years ago, by Major, afterwards Colonel Jervis, and a brother officer. Three celts were dug up, two of stone and one of metal, which were forwarded to London. During the present year (1860) a somewhat careful examination was made of the contents of the water-washed earth at the bottom of one of the chambers which constitute the cave, and which chambers alone contain any deposit, for the narrow parts are bare to the rock, which is here also mountain limestone. Teeth of the bear were obtained, with a great quantity of the bones of recent animals. Here also were fish-bones, mixed with such modern litoral shells as the *patella*, *cardium*, *purpurea capilla*, *mytilus*, *litorina litoralis*, *litorina litorea*, *natica monilifera*, &c., most of which, it is worthy of notice, are also found in the *raised beaches* which appear at heights above the sea, from 100 to 200 feet or so, all round the adjacent coasts, and up the Bristol Channel.

"Indiscriminately mixed with these remains, were found some smaller flint chips, bolt or arrow-heads, besides those first discovered by Colonel Jervis."

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ALBAN



ELVED.

(AUTUMNAL EQUINOX.)

WELSH COMMERCE.

A PAPER READ BY MR. LEWIS HARTLEY, AT A RECENT MEETING
OF THE MANCHESTER CAMBRIAN SOCIETY.

MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN,—In attempting to read a paper on commerce, I feel sensible of my inability to the task. Commerce has such a wide field that I find myself at a loss how to commence; and my own want of education, to which I must draw your attention, will cause this paper to be clothed in a garb much more imperfect than its importance demands.

However, as our society was established with a view of trying to benefit our own countrymen, I shall endeavour to draw your attention this evening to the commerce of Wales. And that commerce of which I propose to treat, is that which answers to what its name implies, viz., an exchange of commodities between consenting parties, and I think that I cannot commence better than

by giving a plain, and at the same time, incontestible proof, that such an exchange may be effected for the good of both parties; as I shall thereby refute the too common notion that commerce consists of one man duping another, the sharpest making himself rich by the other's folly. Each village has its butcher, baker, grocer, and shoemaker, exchanging their commodities with one another to the benefit of all. Every county possesses, from its peculiar situation, an advantage over others in the production of some commercial article; for instance, Staffordshire for earthenware, Lancashire for textile manufactures. Each nation, likewise, possesses its advantage over others in the production of some article of utility, and that which would take a month's labour to produce in one country, would perhaps take but three weeks in another. Thus, while England can produce cloth at less cost of labour than Poland, so Poland can grow corn at less cost of labour than England; and by each directing its principal attention to that which it has the greatest facilities for producing, and exchanging its surplus for its necessary quantity of the other's product, both are mutually benefited, and both corn and cloth are obtained at a cheaper rate in the two countries.

It would be mere affectation on my part to detain you long with what commerce has done for England and the world. Napoleon the First once called us a nation of shopkeepers, and proudly may we claim for England the character of being the great warehouse of Europe and the workshop of the world. You possess its advantages, you enjoy its fruits, you perceive its results around you daily in this city, which has grown through the influence of commerce from a village to a large town, and within the last sixty years from a town of 94,000 inhabitants to a city of commercial palaces, with its 460,000 inhabitants, showing the rate of progress to be nearly 385 per cent. in the last sixty years during which it has become one of the first cities in England, and second to none in Europe in a commercial point of view; and such is its importance, that any panic in Manchester and its districts shakes to

the foundation every nation in Europe, and is felt more or less in every corner of the globe. Every one will, I think, allow that Lancashire both is, and has been, superior to Wales in enterprize and combination, but the following figures may be useful as showing some of its results in the progress of their respective population, and in the amount of money saved by them, which may be presumed to be available for commercial enterprize:—

	1801.		1851.
Lancashire.....	683,253	2,067,301
Wales.....	547,017	1,011,784

Thus whilst the population of Lancashire was, in 1801, only about 23 per cent. larger than that of Wales, it now exceeds it by more than 100 per cent.; and whereas, the population of Wales has increased in the ratio of about 98 per cent., that of Lancashire has increased by about 300 per cent. during the same period. Now as their increase of population may be taken as a criterion of their progress in enterprize and combination, inasmuch as the increased population is supported by increased enterprize, and is at the same time more adequately remunerated; so the following statement of their respective savings in the year 1858 may be accepted as a standard to judge of what I will call the latent power of each, available for future and increased production, and consequently commerce:—

	No. of Depositors.		Amount.
Lancashire.....	117,369	£3,111,951
Wales	29,408	773,014

Thus whilst the superiority of Lancashire over Wales in population, as before ascertained, is about 100 per cent., the superiority in savings, as now shown, is about 400 per cent. Whilst in Lancashire the depositors are in the proportion of 1 in 17, they are in Wales only in the proportion of 1 in every 35 persons, and the average amount of deposits is in each instance the same, viz., about £26 15s. Now our business to-night, gentlemen, as Welshmen desirous of mutually aiding each other in the direction of our efforts for the good of our country, is to examine (briefly though it may be) the conditions neces-

sary to a successful state of commerce ; the reason why the Welsh do not possess that state ; and at the same time to offer a few plain suggestions as to the best means of obtaining it. For the sake of conciseness I will classify these conditions as follows :—*First*,—Natural objects, such as land, coal, minerals, water-power, &c. *Secondly*,—Capital and labour to work these advantages. *Thirdly*,—Disposition so to apply the capital. *Fourthly*,—Mutual confidence and trust. *Fifthly*,—Energy and perseverance. *Sixthly*,—A market for the commodity.

As all would readily agree that we possess the first requisite, natural objects, so the most casual observer would join in stating that we want the second—capital. You may say we have the Caernarvonshire slate quarries. True, but English capital works them. Then what if we have the Cardiganshire lead mines, English capital works them ; and so on almost through the list. Now let all this be granted, and, after examining the requisites of capital itself, we can easily answer it. These are, the existence of a fund to make savings from, and a disposition to save. As to the disposition to save, everybody who knows anything of the Welsh, is well aware that that they possess it in an eminent degree. As to the other, Welsh quarrymen, for instance, are as well paid in proportion as any class of men, and their cost of living is less than that of most. Now what is there to prevent quarrymen from opening a co-operation quarry for themselves. Small, of course, they would be at first, and so have our largest firms been small at first, and so was the Globe Works of Manchester when first started by a dozen working men. Again, the peculiar condition of Welsh retail business gives most tradesmen the possession of the same fund to make savings from. Now, what cannot be done by single, may be effected by combined efforts, and, better than theorizing about the matter, I will give you an instance of its successful operation. Near Dolgelley is a copper mine. It is worked by a company comprised, with one exception, of small tradesmen. One could not work it to advantage, but the company can and do. By

their united efforts they increase the produce of the country, and as they naturally do not give that increase away, but receive an equivalent in exchange for it, to that extent do they increase the commerce of Wales.

What is there to prevent the wool of Wales being manufactured at home, and giving employment to its fair daughters, which would prevent their seeking employment in other countries where they are open to all temptation thrown in the way of young girls far from home, to lure them from the virtuous, God-fearing path they were brought up in? As an example that this can be done, there is a small cloth factory on the Wnion, at Dolgelley, making Welsh tweed equal in beauty to the English and Scotch, and far surpassing them in durability. But a few factories of this kind are too small, and their machinery too simple, to cope with their wealthy enterprizing English and Scotch opponents.

Here we want the second and third requisites—more capital, and an increased disposition to apply it. Now, gentlemen, I have no doubt that many of the distinguished foreigners who visited us lately, and some of our own countrymen as well, have wondered at seeing the merchant princes and cotton lords of this city, rolling in wealth, and at the same time toiling among its noisy machinery and smoky chimneys, crowded streets and pent-up alleys, not retiring to end their days where they could enjoy the pure air of heaven. But you feel, better than I can express, that the perseverance and capital of these men, and their disposition to apply it, has made commerce one of the principal agents by which Britain has gained the proud position of arbitress of the world.

I will here draw your attention for a minute to another Celtic race, which has done, perhaps less towards the improvement of the commerce of their country than the Welsh towards that of Wales. The Liberty of Dublin, a few years ago, manufactured more silk than any town in England, and nearly as much as all put together; but the Irish silk manufacturers, after rea-

lizing fortunes, retired from business to make room for other and smaller capitalists, who had to commence again at their starting point.

Not so the English manufacturers. They leave their wealth in their concerns to increase the trade and improve their machinery. In this way Ireland has lost its silk trade, and England has gained it.

The same can be said of another town in Ireland called Balbriggan, noted for manufacturing good hosiery, although with bad machinery. Enterprising Englishmen built here factories with improved machinery to imitate these goods, and it is proved that the imitation is better made and cheaper than the real; and now for every one hundred dozen of Balbriggan hose sold, ninety-nine are manufactured in Nottingham and Leicester. Now, gentlemen, is it not probable, if something is not done for the commerce of Wales, that in a few years, if not at present, a similar tale may be told of the flannel manufacturers of Newtown and Llanidloes—that they have left their trade slip through their fingers—Rochdale has become the Welsh flannel depot. I feel strongly the national disgrace the Welsh must suffer in the eyes of the world if they permit English and Scotch capitalists to rob them of the great wealth their country is capable of producing, which they will do, without some great change being made in this vital and important question; and I hope that that change will soon take place to atone for the past, and to do honour to the commercial history of Wales in the future.

Gentlemen, we all agree that the secret of Lancashire's commercial greatness consists in her plentiful supply of coal and water, and ready facilities of carriage. Now I will read you a few remarks from Knight's Series on textile manufactures. "The physical character of the district presents marked facilities for such a manufacture. The hilly range separating Lancashire from Yorkshire gives rise to numerous streams, which, before they reach the estuary of the river Mersey, give motive power to water-wheels, and a supply of water to bleach-works and

dye-works, such as has no parallel for extent in any other country. It has been said that the Mersey and the Irwell are the two hardest-worked rivers in the world. We may also adduce the existence of coal in abundance in the county, and iron in adjacent counties, with which there is easy communication, as a cause for the settlement of the cotton manufacture here. We must not forget, too, that Liverpool, one of the most admirably situated ports in the kingdom, is in the immediate vicinity of the cotton district, serving as a depot both for the import of the raw material, and for the export of finished goods." Could not this description be almost as appropriately read with the word Wales substituted for Lancashire and Yorkshire; the Dee exchanged for the Mersey; the Conway instead of the Irwell; and Holyhead, Porth-dynllaen, or Milford Haven for Liverpool?

Yes, gentlemen, our country possesses every internal facility for manufacture and commerce. At the British Association Mr. Readion told us, in a paper he read on "Gold in Wales," that in the district of Dolgelley there are about twenty localities in which gold has been discovered, and that it can be extracted from the minerals in a remunerative quantity. Mr. Robert Hunt, F.R.S., compiler of mining records for the government, has recently made a calculation as to the average of the profits from the workings of slate quarries in Wales, and he gives them at upwards of 50 per cent.; and the increasing demand for Welsh slates has gradually raised the price nearly 20 per cent. during the last twelve months.

We now come to consider how, and by what means, can commercial subjects be most readily and effectually introduced into the mind of the Welsh, and how to stimulate them to make use of the treasure that God has so abundantly left at their disposal; for I believe Wales to be one of the richest spots under the sun, only wanting capital and disposition so to apply it as to make the Welsh one of the richest nations in Europe, for its extent. I would suggest to the committee of our Na-

tional Eisteddfod the importance of adding to their present subjects scientific and commercial matters, and of giving prizes for the same. This would, no doubt, be an effectual stimulus to bring forward voluntary, enterprising men, and would probably call out some organized association for the special advancement of commerce in Wales, that would add greatly to its importance, and confer an imperishable benefit on the Welsh nation.

Now, you will say, we want the second requisite, capital, to work these advantages, not so much as the third requisition, disposition so to apply it. I will read you a statement of the number of depositors and amount of deposits in the Savings Banks of Wales; showing that there are 29,408 individuals in Wales, having on an average, a capital of nearly £27 each lying idle, or at a small per centage in Savings Banks, which could be employed in commerce, with proper management, to the benefit of the individuals, and advancement of the Welsh nation.

MERIONETHSHIRE.					
			No. of Depositors.	Amount.	
Not exceeding £1			61	£26	
.. 1 to £5			166	438	
.. 5 10			185	1,310	
.. 10 15			149	1,755	
.. 15 20			96	1,626	
.. 20 30			213	5,021	
.. 30 40			127	4,197	
.. 40 50			58	2,580	
.. 50 75			106	6,421	
.. 75 100			42	3,554	
.. 100 125			31	3,389	
.. 125 150			15	2,018	
.. 150 200			20	3,420	
Total of individual Depositors.....			1,269	£35,755	
Charitable Institutions			17	346	
Friendly Societies			30	4367	
Total Number of Depositors...			1,316	£40,468	

Having thus given a particular statement of the depositors and deposits in this county, to which I have principally referred, viz., Merioneth; I will lay before

you a general one of the Welsh counties, giving only the number and amount of individual depositors and deposits. This being the class available for the carrying out of the principle advanced, viz., the union of small capitalists; and, by this, I shall show that Merioneth (although much has been, and more may be, done by her) is one of the most unfavourable instances I could have named in regard to the subject under consideration.

	No. of Depositors.	Amount.
Radnorshire	292	£3,991
Caernarvon	1,112	14,753
Brecknock	1,424	19,873
Cardigan	1,155	32,533
Merioneth	1,269	35,755
Anglesey	1,944	47,272
Carmarthen	2,005	57,237
Denbigh	3,909	70,931
Montgomery	2,435	79,598
Flint	3,130	90,680
Pembroke	3,717	131,748
Glamorgan	7,016	188,643
Total	29,408	£773,014

Thus showing the amount of £773,014 of capital available for commercial enterprize. Now the Welsh, as a nation, are a sympathising and a co-operative race, and most willing to embrace any co-operative or limited liability movement, providing it reaches their sympathy. For instance, I have been informed that nearly one-half of the shares in the *Dial* newspaper were taken up in Wales. Here, the sympathy of the people was reached by the impression that the *Dial* would be a more religious organ than the *Times*. Again, they are co-operative. Look how soon they can build a chapel or church by voluntary contributions. But we do not find them building schools by the same means as the Scotch do. It is said of the Scotchman, that he would rather give his son one meal a day and schooling, than three and let him play. So we find the Scotch an enterprising commercial people, who have undoubtedly done more towards raising the character of their country than

any of their Celtic brethren. Now what I want to impress on your mind, gentlemen, is, that there is a want of sympathy in the Welsh people with regard to education, commercial and scientific topics.

What is to prevent trustworthy and influential Welshmen from forming a co-operative company of £1 shares to build a cotton factory on the Dee, a woollen factory on the Conway, or any other factory or works that the localities would be most favourable to, with the most improved machinery, so that they could compete in the English market? The cost of building would be less than at Manchester, on account of a plentiful supply of stone and lime on the spot. Taxes would be less, labour must be cheaper; for an operative in Manchester must pay from 2s. 9d. to 4s. a week rent; where the same in Wales would be from 1s. to 1s. 6d., and other expenses in proportion; and if a factory can be built on the Dee with less money than at Manchester, and labour and working expenses lower, with proper management they would be able to sell their produce cheaper. If so, they would experience no difficulty in finding the sixth requisite—a market for the commodity.

Again, a limited liability company could be formed to build a print-works on the Dee, or a dye-works on any of the Welsh rivers. It is well known that the water of Lancashire is overworked, and that it is difficult to find places to build the new works which the commerce of the country demands. Or, again, to open a quarry, or dig a mine, that would give to the 29,408 small capitalists of Wales, and many a Welshman in England, an opportunity to take a share in the wealth of his country—wealth that he has the best right to by birth. The trade of Wales would be on a smaller scale, of course, than that of England; but, at the same time, might be on a sufficiently large one to raise the character of the people, and add greatly to their power and influence. The great fault lies in the people themselves, and in their want of the third requisite—a disposition so to apply their capital; this want, again,

arising in a great measure from the want of the fourth requisite—mutual confidence and trust; and of the latter part of the fifth, namely, perseverance. As to the first part of this requisite—energy—everybody knows we have any quantity of Welsh blood and Celtic fire; what we want is, the perseverance to bring it to a successful issue. I think, gentlemen, that this want of mutual confidence and trust, as well as the want of perseverance, is owing to the deficient state of the mental cultivation of the people. Let the people be educated, and well educated too; for an educated people implies a people capable of originating plans—and of carrying them out, of managing their own affairs; and by the aid of the strength of character obtained by education, of bearing up against temporary disappointment and reverses, and persevering until both the enterprize and perseverance meet with due reward.

It is owing to the want of this strength of mind that the controversial subjects which have formed so large a portion of our national mental cultivation have been conducted in such a manner as to foster mutual distrust, and to cause different sects to look upon each other more as rivals than fellow-workers for the good of their country. However, the character of the ministry is improving, it is becoming more enlightened; and therefore let us take this as an omen that more practical topics will henceforth be taught, and that Christian charity may be inculcated, instead of mistrust engendered. By education their prejudices will be removed, and their desire for intercourse with England increased; and this intercourse cannot but be a means of obtaining a further moral power, and of giving us more enlightened and intelligent workmen to conduct our manufactures.

And now, gentlemen, I must conclude these few remarks by reference to the ancient saying of Taliesin, called a prophecy, but which may more appropriately be ascribed to the intuitive perception of a great mind in advance of his age. You remember that he said of us—

Eu Ner a folant,
 Eu hiaith a gadwant,
 Eu gwlad a gollant,
 Ond gwyllt Walia.

He saw well that the want of union, of which I have endeavoured imperfectly to trace the cause, would deprive them of their possessions. That anticipation has been fulfilled, and Wales itself has, in a great measure, passed into the hands of strangers. Let us hope, however, that by the enlightenment produced by education, and the improved state of science and commerce consequent upon it, as the first part of the stanza has been realized, so the second may be reassured, and the third reversed; that Welsh mines, Welsh quarries, and Welsh manufactures may be carried on by Welsh capital; and that those who come after us, if not we ourselves, may live to see cotton mills on the Dee, and woollen factories on the Conway, and yet find in Wales a field for enterprise, and a prospect of advancement.

DRUIDISM.

CHAPTER VII.

THE CHRISTIAN EPOCH.

THE above is the last reference that we have to Druidism, or the old patriarchal religion of the Cymry, before it was absorbed or swallowed up by Christianity. Inasmuch, therefore, as this fact occurred at an early period, and in a very general degree, and the bishops and priests of the Church continued afterwards as members of the Bardic College, we must consider the druidic traditions, which were preserved among them, as exhibiting the latest phase of the ancient religion, and commanding respect inereely as the remnuants of the theology and wisdom of the primitive inhabitants of the island, before the better dispensation of the Gospel had dawned upon

them. The Druidism of the middle ages was not a continuation or development of the earlier system—embraced and believed in independently of, in a manner parallel with, or contrary to, the religion of Christ, otherwise orthodox and pious Christians would not have sought for bardic degrees indiscriminately out of the three orders, as we find that they did from the foundation of the Church down to the time of the Reformation—we may say, even to our own day. Whatever, then, its form was, in the time of Bran and Caractacus, such it continued in every age subsequently; it underwent no alteration, since it was not professed as a living faith, but maintained merely as a curiosity, or as an illustration of the ancient literature and philosophy of the Cymry, just as the memorial of the heathen mythologies of Greece and Rome is preserved in our universities at the present day.

But it is necessary that we should bring facts to establish our position. The Bards themselves admit very clearly and positively that Christianity was, as it were, but the fulfilment of Druidism, the old religion brought into perfection; consequently, that it was not incumbent upon any one to receive the tenets of Bardism as articles of faith, further than they were found to agree with the doctrines of the Gospel. Thus, for instance, are the several dispensations spoken of in the “Triads of Privilege and Usage:”—

“Three particular doctrines were obtained by the nation of the Cymry: the first from the age of ages, was that of the Gwyddoniaid, before the time of Prydain, son of Aedd the Great; the second was Bardism, as taught by the Bards, when they became established; the third was *the faith in Christ, which was THE BEST OF THE THREE.*”¹

It was similar with the Jews: they had successively the patriarchal religion, the law, and the Gospel.² A Jew

¹ Llanover MS., unpublished.

² “Think not that I am come to destroy the law, or the prophets; I am not come to destroy, but to fulfil.”—*S. Matt.* v. 17.

“The law was given by Moses, but grace and truth came by Jesus Christ.”—*S. John*, i. 17.

“The law was our schoolmaster to bring us unto Christ.”—*Gal.* iii. 24.

who received the first two only as the sum and substance of his faith, and the rule of his conduct, would never have acknowledged the Gospel as "the best of the three." It is quite as absurd to suppose that a Bard would have made the above admission, if he had viewed Druidism, apart from Christianity, as the foundation of his faith.

There was nothing in the fundamental principles of Druidism opposed to the doctrines of the Gospel; on the contrary, they virtually implied them, or had ulterior respect to them. The Bards regarded the whole visible creation as a type of things invisible and spiritual; and held that everything tended towards perfection—when there should be an end to abred, and all men should be perfect in bliss. They looked upon the presiding Bard as a kind of moral sun, consequently as a type of God; and inasmuch as they regarded him thus as a mere figure or shadow, they looked forward for the substance, whom they expected to be fully as He was—God-man, the Sun of righteousness!

Ecclesiastical history informs us that the Cymry, whatever may be said of the other tribes of the island, received the Gospel at an early period, and to a very general extent.³ This fact of itself indicates a certain tendency in the religion of the country towards the Gospel. We may not suppose that it was through any lack of knowledge the people allowed themselves to be drawn to the Christian religion; for the doctrines of the Bards, owing to the public character of the Gorsedd, were deeply rooted in the memory and understanding of the populace; and we are told by old authors, that the influence of the Druids was unusually vigorous and extensive. In receiving the Gospel, therefore, they were receiving it in the view or light of Druidism. Indeed, we have reason to suppose that the principal instruments in the planting of the Church of Christ among our ancestors were professed Druids.

The individual who first embraced the Gospel, and in-

³ See Williams's Ecclesiastical Antiquities of the Cymry.

roduced it among his countrymen, was Bran, father of the celebrated Caractacus.⁴ He was at Rome, as hostage for the peaceful behaviour of his son, when he heard it preached, and it is not improbable that he had the privilege of listening to the Great Apostle of the Gentiles himself; for both himself and St. Paul were in the city about the same time.⁵ Upon his return at the end of seven years, he brought with him four missionaries,⁶ for the purpose of assisting him in the work of establishing a Church among the Cymry, and more particularly in Siluria, his own immediate territory.

We have reason to conclude that Bran was a Bard or Druid; for though the fact is not positively stated in the Triads and Genealogies, it is still remembered in the traditionary legends of the country. There is an old adage which says, "Who is chief, let him be a bridge." In the "Voice Conventional of the Bards of the Isle of Britain," this is applied to members of the bardic system, and is thus explained:—"They are all considered as coequal in dignity; but they are adjudged to be of equal dignity, influence and reverence, after graduation in a

⁴ "The three beneficent sovereigns of the Isle of Britain: Bran the Blessed, son of Llyr Llediaith, who first brought the faith in Christ to the nation of the Cymry from Rome, where he had been seven years a hostage for his son Caradog, whom the Romans had taken captive, after he was betrayed by treachery, and an ambush laid for him by Aregwedd Voeddawg."—*Triad 35, Third Series*. See also *Triad 18*, and the "Genealogies of the Saints," *apud Myv. Arch.* vol. iii.

⁵ The British captives, according to Tacitus, arrived at Rome, A.D. 51. St. Paul, according to the Chronology of Eusebius and Jerome, came thither A.D. 56, which was about two years before the return of Bran. The stay of both must thus have terminated at the same time, for the Apostle "dwelt TWO WHOLE YEARS in his own hired house, and received all that came in unto him; preaching those things which concern the Lord Jesus Christ with all confidence, no man forbidding him."—*Acts xxviii.* 30, 31.

⁶ These, according to the "Genealogy of the Saints," were Ilid, Cyndav, and his son Mawan, who are styled "men of Israel," and Arwystli Hen, a "man of Italy," and supposed to be the same as Aristobulus, mentioned by St. Paul in his Epistle to the Romans, xvi. 10. See Williams's "Ecclesiastical Antiquities of the Cymry."

Gorsedd of efficiency, *and to be chiefs and bridges above all others:*" "they are *chiefs* over all, because their testimony is considered in law as paramount to that of every person who is not a Bard. . . . And the reason that they should become *bridges* to all is, the obligation they are under to teach all good men and true of the country and people, by *conducting them over the bog of ignorance*, and so become in effect paths and bridges to them."⁷

This, under the guise of fable, is applied in the *Ma-binogi* of "Branwen, daughter of Llyr," after the following manner:—"Bran the Blessed came to land, and the fleet with him, by the bank of the river. 'Lord,' said his chieftains, 'knowest thou the nature of this river, that nothing can go across it, and there is no bridge over it? What,' said they, 'is thy counsel concerning a bridge?' 'There is none,' said he, 'except that he who is chief let him be a bridge. I will be so,' said he. And then was that saying first uttered, and it is still used as a proverb. And then when he had lain down across the river, hurdles were placed upon him, and the host passed over thereby."⁸

We presume that it is his office as Bard that is pointed out in this legendary description; and we doubt not that it was at first intended, for some reason or other, as a secret, which every Bard could well understand, whilst the common people or laity remained in ignorance of its true signification.

⁷ Iolo MSS. pp. 59, 443, 444.

⁸ Branwen, the daughter of Llyr, pp. 94, 118. Lewis Daron (1580-1600,) applies the same phraseology to Tudur Aled, in his *Elegy* on that eminent Bard:—

"Pwy a fu benn, pa fab oedd,
Pwy ond, Tudur, pont ydoedd?"

Who had been *chief*—what son,
Who but Tudur? He was a *bridge*.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE ROMAN PERIOD.

ALL the kings of Siluria, until the reign of Lleurwg, or Lucius, were good Christians, and zealous defenders of the faith. In the time of Cyllin, son of the brave Caradog, "many of the Cymry were converted to the Christian faith;" and "he enjoined that a man's name should be given him in his childhood, for, previously, the name was not given before mature age, when the faculties became developed,"¹ a fact which undoubtedly implies the national recognition of infant baptism. He is in the Triads emphatically called "Cyllin Sant," or Cyllin the Saint.² Owain, son of Cyllin, "conferred many benefits upon the Christians, and gave possessions and riches to the choir of Eurgain, for the support of twelve saints."³ Coel, the brother of Owain, was a Bard:⁴ his son was Lleurwg, or Lles ab Coel, who by national edict endowed the Christian Church with the same privileges as the bardic system then enjoyed; for such, without doubt, is the meaning of the Triads, which relate that "he conferred the privilege of country and nation, and brawd and briduw, upon those who should be of the faith in Christ;" or, "gave lands and the privilege of country to those that first joined themselves to the faith in Christ."⁵

This act of itself shows very clearly that the Church was already in a somewhat flourishing condition, and gaining ground in the country.⁶ But some one may

¹ Genealogy of Iestyn, son of Gwrgant, *apud* Iolo MSS. p. 8.

² See Triad 35, Third Series.

³ Genealogy of Iestyn, p. 8.

⁴ See Triad 91, Third Series, where Corvinwr, Morddal, and Coel, the "three blessed artisans of the Isle of Britain," are positively stated to be "three Bards."

⁵ Triads 35, 68. Third Series.

⁶ The testimony of our own annals on this point is confirmed by contemporary writers. Justin Martyr, A.D. 140, asserts that, in his

object, and say, if Druidism was by a natural process yielding gradually to the religion of Christ, or was being clothed with it, what occasion was there for fresh legal enactments on the subject? To this we answer, that the Church, though perfectly compatible with the primary object of Bardism, yet differed from the druidic form in respect both of government and doctrine, to such a degree, that nothing less than a new law could give its members a legal claim to the privileges of the Bards. This was conformable to the requirements of the Code of Dyvnwal Moelmud:—"Three things that ought not to be accomplished but with the accordance of country and federate country, and the supreme kindred: altering the law of the king; dethroning the king; and disseminating new sciences and new regulations in a session of bards."⁷ Such also was the advice tendered to him by Eleutherius, Bishop of Rome, when he consulted him respecting the laws of Rome and the empire, expecting, no doubt, to find something in them bearing relation to the Church:—"Out of these holy volumes (the Old and New Testaments) you may, by the advice of your subjects, collect a body of law which, under God's protection, may enable you to govern your realm of Britain."⁸ Without this, the ministers of the Church, though taken exclusively from

time, every country known to the Romans contained professors of the Christian faith. (*S. Just. Mart. cum Tryphone Judæo Dialogus.*) Irenæus, also, A.D. 169, speaks of Christian Churches as established among the Celtæ, which would comprehend several of the British tribes. (*D. Iren Adv. Hæres*, l. i. c. iii. p. 52.)

⁷ The Laws and Institutes of Wales, vol. ii. p. 500.

⁸ See Collier's Ecclesiastical History, b. i. cent. ii. Though several objections have been urged against the credit of this letter, it has never yet been disproved. It has been popularly thought that it exhibits a view of the national affairs of Britain, materially different from what they really were at the time under consideration. It is now, however, sufficiently evident, that such a view is perfectly coincident with the representation of native records; so that any argument founded upon that opinion must be fallacious. Moreover, the circumstance that the alleged epistle of Eleutherius, though not noticed in any of the Welsh records, should yet agree with the tenor of their statements as to the station and character of Lucius, is singularly corroborative of the genuineness of the composition itself.

among the Druids, could not justly and lawfully enjoy the national and civil privileges which appertained to them.

By "brawd"⁹ we are to understand those social rights which were secured to the people by the decision and authority of a judicial court, and which every innate Cymro enjoyed previously only as a follower of the druidic religion. "Briduw"¹ is a solemn asseveration, or an oath, made on one's faith; the word indicates in the Triad that every contract made by a Christian was henceforth to be valid. It is very likely, too, that the mode of swearing by "the ten commandments," was now authorised in behalf of the members of the Christian Church, instead of the druidic instruments which were used before.

Hitherto the Christians enjoyed no national privileges or usages, except what were accorded to them through courtesy and kindness, or what they obtained from the special patronage of the princes, or in their character as members of the Bardic College. But the Church was, as a system, becoming daily more distinct from Bardism, and the necessity for special provisions in its favour becoming continually more apparent; so that at length it seemed clear to Lleurwg there ought to be no further delay in the matter. Accordingly, "he constructed the first church at Llandaff, which was the first in the island of Britain,"² whereas the Christians had previously been in the habit of worshipping within the Druidic circles, and of inculcating the "Triads of St. Paul," "in the face of the sun and the eye of light,"³ just as the Jewish

⁹ A making clear, or current; accordance; a judgment; social right. *Dydd brand*, the day of judgment; *brawd gyhoedd*, a public judgment.—Dr. O. Pughe's *Dictionary*, *sub voce*.

¹ Briduw, *i. e.* bri-Duw, the dignity of God. "A form of swearing analogous to *plighting one's faith*; a solemn adjuration; also the contract made upon such an oath; a warranty in buying and selling."—*Id. sub voce*.

² Triad 35, Third Series.

³ This will appear from the fact that many of those places which we now regard as druidical temples, retain in their names, and other circumstances, traces of their having been once connected with Chris-

Christians continued for a while to worship in the Temple, and to observe some of their old customs and ceremonies.

Gorwg, son of Eirchion, Prince of Siluria, and grandson of Owain, son of Cyllin, was a Christian, "a very religious man," and a "good Bard,"⁴ which he could not have been if he had held the doctrines of Druidism as "articles of his belief." Morien, son of Argad the Bard, attempted in the fourth century to blend together the two systems, or to incorporate one in the other; but inasmuch as he doctrinally removed the "faith in Christ" too far back to meet Druidism,⁵ instead of assigning to it, where it was, its developing character, as he should have done, he came to be regarded as a heretic, and was eventually excommunicated from the Church.

It is beyond question that the Bards were unable to meet regularly in Gorsedd whilst the domination of the Romans continued in the island; the old traditions were, consequently, in great danger of being lost. Therefore, on the diminution of their power, in the time of Maxen Wledig, or Maximus, about A.D. 383, all that related to the Bards of the Isle of Britain were duly submitted to the consideration of the jury of country and kindred, as had been done in the time of Prydain, son of Aedd the

tianity. Thus we find Carn Moesen (the tumulus of Moses) in Glamorganshire, and Carn y Groes (the tumulus of the Cross) on the mountain of Gelli Onen, in the same county, where a very ancient cross stands. A cromlech in Llanhamlach, county of Brecon, goes by the name of Ty Illtyd. Another stone in Cardiganshire is called Carreg Tair Groes (the stone of the three crosses). It is remarkable, also, that the second "principal choir" of the Church succeeded the second "congress of continued song" of the Bardic institution on the plains of Caradawg, or Salisbury, the original erection of which is considered as the second "mighty labour of the Isle of Britain."—See Williams's *Ecclesiastical Antiquities of the Cymry*, chap. viii.

⁴ See Iolo MSS. p. 9.

⁵ See "A Chronological Account of Times and remarkable Occurrences; that is, of Wars and wonderful Events; and of distinguished Persons and Circumstances." This document, which is printed in the Iolo MSS., purports to have been taken from Watkyn Giles of Pen y Vai's MS., which was a transcript from one of Caradoc of Llancarvan's Chronicles. In some documents Morien is identified with Llyr Merini.

Great, "lest the primitive Bardism should be lost and forgotten. And there it was found in its integrity, and according to its primary privileges and usages. And these were submitted to the judgment and verdict of country and kindred; and the ancient privileges and usages, and the ancient meaning and instruction, and the ancient sciences and memorials were confirmed, *that they might not fail, or be lost, or forgotten*; and there was no contradiction or opposition."⁶

Here it is positively asserted, that the object of this restoration was to preserve the ancient sciences, "lest they should fail, be lost, or forgotten;" not to add to them, nor to take from them.

Inasmuch as Maxen was himself a zealous Christian, and had founded "many churches and religious houses in this island," and caused instruction in Divine and secular sciences to be imparted therein, and inasmuch as the majority of the Cymry had already become Christians, it is not reasonable to suppose that they would suffer the bardic system to be restored as a system of belief, if they had perceived in it anything hostile and dangerous to the Christian religion. But Druidism, according at least to the latest doctrinal phase which it presented, was confessedly inconsistent with Christianity. Our conclusion then is, that the resolution was to preserve its traditions merely as matters of curiosity, and as illustrations of the history and philosophy of olden times, and not as depositories of a living faith.

⁶ The Triads of Privilege and Usage, MS.

CHAPTER IX.

FROM THE SIXTH TO THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.

THE sixth century was an era which teemed with life and energy—it was the age of churches, schools, saints, and Bards. The indigenous inhabitants of the island had generally embraced the Christian religion before the close of this century. Henceforth it was required, that all who wished to become members of the bardic order, should also be members of the Church; whilst, previously, the door was open for every man indiscriminately, whatever his religious views might have been. Thus it is stated in an old document respecting the “Chair of Baptism:”—“The Chair of Taliesin, Bard of Urien Rheged, in Llynllychwr, was called the CHAIR OF BAPTISM, because the privilege of a teacher could not be obtained in it, except in the case of such as were baptized, and devoted to the faith in Christ; and its motto was ‘GOOD IS THE STONE WITH THE GOSPEL.’”¹

This motto shows the relation that existed between the Church and Bardism—the latter was, as it were, a hand-maid to the other—bearing the testimony of tradition and natural philosophy to confirm the truths of the Gospel. “The Word of God,” however, was to be “uppermost—foremost.”² Engaged in the task of establishing the “Chair of Baptism” were Madog,³ son of Morvryn, Taliesin,⁴ Merddin Emrys,⁵ Talhaiarn,⁶

¹ An old MS. printed in the Preface of *Cyfrinach Beirdd Ynys Prydain*.

² “A gair Duw yn uchav,” or, “yn y blaen,” an old proverbial saying.

³ He was a member of the congregation of Iltyd, and is ranked as a saint in the British calendar.

⁴ Taliesin was the son of St. Henwg, of Caerleon-upon-Usk.

⁵ Merddin Emrys was the son of Madog Morvryn, who, as we have seen, was a saint.

⁶ Talhaiarn was an eminent saint of the college of Cattwg, and

Merddin,⁷ son of Madog, Meugant the Aged,⁸ Balchnoe, the Bard of Teilo, Saint Cattwg, and the Bard Cynddylan.⁹ These nine were baptized Christians, and professing the faith in Christ; they could not, therefore, maintain any religious tenets, as articles of faith, that were incompatible with their profession. If, then, they preserved and treasured the ancient sciences of Druidism, as undoubtedly they did, it must needs be that their regard extended to them merely as historical remains, illustrative of the primitive ages. Some of them were eminent Christians, whose praise was in all the churches, as, for instance, Cattwg.¹ If he had believed in the transmigration of souls, unquestionably he would not have been canonized by the Church, and ranked in the number of saints.

Many poetical fragments have come down to us under the name of Taliesin, who was "Chair-President of the nine impulsive stocks of the baptismal Bards of the Isle of Britain," in which we meet with allusions to the pure

domestic chaplain to Emrys Wledig. He composed a prayer which has always been the formula used in the Bardic session of Glamorgan.

⁷ Merddin, son of Madog, called also Merddin Wyllt, or the Wild, is ranked in the Triads with Merddin Emrys and Taliesin, as the three "privardd bedydd," or chief Christian Bards of the Isle of Britain.

⁸ The son of St. Cyndav, and himself a saint. There is a field near the town of Beaumaris in which is the site of a chapel, founded by Meugan the Aged, son of Cyndav, and subject to the Church of Llandegvan.

⁹ See an account of the establishment of the Baptismal Chair by the nine Bards, taken from the Triads of the Round Table, in *Iolo MSS.* pp. 79, 468. The institution was also called the Chair of the Round Table, under the superior privileges of which, Gildas the Prophet, and Cattwg the Wise, of Llancarvan, were Bards; and, also, Llywarch the Aged, the son of Elidir Lydanwyn, Ystudvach the Bard, and Ystyphan, the Bard of Teilo.—*Ibid.*

¹ Cattwg was the eldest son of Gwynllw Vilwr, lord of Gwynllwg, in Glamorgan, but he preferred leading a life of learning and religion to succeeding to his father's principality. He was appointed Abbot of Llancarvan, and was famous for his wisdom and purity of life. He founded numerous churches in Wales, which still bear his name. There is a life of him, in Latin, preserved among the *Cotton MSS.* in the British Museum.

doctrines of the Gospel, as well as to the peculiar tenets of Druidism. Sometimes, indeed, the Bard shows us the Christian development of the old Druidic religion, as, in speaking of the resurrection of Jesus, he says,—

“On the third day was the resurrection of Hu,”²
intimating that Jesus was the same as He who was regarded as God in the creed of the Druids, and whom they sometimes called HU, or HU GADARN, (Hu the Mighty,) and of whom the sun was the chief type among things visible—the *Hu-an*, abode of Hu.

In like manner he evangelizes the doctrine of *abred*,—

Multitudes were in the confused state
Of hell, the cold receptacle of people,
During the five ages of the world,
Until Christ released them from the bondage
Of the immensely deep abyss of *abred*.³

These things show pretty clearly that the old sciences

² *The Rod of Moses.* In the original it is

Trydedydd bu
Dadebriad Hu,

a version found among the MSS. of Iolo Morganwg, and differing in some respects from that which is printed in the *Myv. Arch.* i. p. 43, where we have

Byd adebriad
Hubwydd ith irad.

Which of the two is the most ancient it is difficult to decide. The Myvyrian reading is the least intelligible, and, therefore, most likely to have suffered corruption. At the same time, the former part, by a slight rearrangement of the orthography, may be made to tally exactly with the most important portion of the other,—By dadebriad Hu. . . . Later poets, likewise, gave the name *Hu*, or *Huon*, to the Deity. Thus Cynddelw,—

Oedran Iesu *Hu* hoywdeg
Yn wir Dduw un cant ar ddeg.

The age of Jesus, energetic and glorious *Hu*,
The true God, was eleven hundred.

And Davydd Ddu Hiraddug (about A.D. 1340),—

Dy enw *Huon*
Dy enw *Deon*
Dy enw Ion

Daionusaf.;

Thy name *Huon*, thy name *Deon*,

Thy name *Ion*, O best of Beings;

³ Elegy on the Thousand Saints, *apud Myv. Arch.* i. p. 170.

of Bardism were not unknown to Taliesin. Moreover, he distinctly refers to them in many of his poems. We may mention, in particular, the song called "the History of Taliesin," which is pervaded by the doctrine of the metempsychosis from one end to the other,—

Primary chief bard am I to Elphin,⁴
And my original country is the region of the Cherubim,
John the Divine called me Merddin,
At length every king will call me Taliesin.

I have been for the space of nine months in the womb of the hag
Ceridwen,⁵

I was formerly little Gwion,⁶ at length I am Taliesin,
I was with my Lord in the highest sphere,
When Lucifer fell into the depth of hell.

I have borne a banner before Alexander,
I know the names of the stars from north to south,
I have been in the city of Gwdion,⁷ Tetragammaton,
I conveyed Heon down to the Vale of Hebron.

I was in Canaan when Absalom was slain,
I was in the court of Don⁸ before the birth of Gwdion,
I was regulator to Eli and Enoch,
I was at the place of crucifixion of the merciful Son of God.

⁴ The son of Gwyddno ab Gervynion ab Dyvnwal the Aged, King of Gwent, who discovered the child Taliesin, in a leathern bag, in a weir, as he was fishing one May-eve. When Elphin was afterwards imprisoned in the castle of Dyganwy by Maelgwn Gwynedd, Taliesin's muse succeeded in obtaining his release.

⁵ Ceridwen, or Cariadwen, is thus explained in the Mysteries of Bardism:—

"What is the parable of Cariadwen?

"Cariadwen is the affection of the heart, and where it forms an union, there is obtained *Awen*; from union with God and goodness comes Awen from God, and from union with evil and Satan comes Awen from the devil."—*MS.*—See text further on.

⁶ Gwion Bach, or little Gwion, was a poet, born in Llanvair Caereinion, Powys, and flourished about A.D. 470. A saying of his is preserved in "Chwedlau y Doethion,"—

"Hast thou heard the saying of Gwion Bach,
Teaching a just law?
Every claim is right where there is justice."

—*Iolo MSS.* p. 663.

⁷ *Caer Gwdion*, the Galaxy, from Gwdion ab Don, celebrated for his knowledge of the stars.

⁸ *Llys Don* is the Welsh name of the constellation Cassiopeia.

I have been chief director of the work of the tower of Nimrod,
 I have been three periods in the city of Arianrod;⁹
 I have been in the ark with Noah and Alpha;
 I saw the destruction of Sodom and Gomorra.

I have been in Africa before Rome was built,
 I have come here to the remnant of Troy;
 I have been with my Lord in the manger of the ass;
 I strengthened Moses through the water of Jordan.

I have been in the firmament with Mary Magdalene;
 I have obtained the Awen from the cauldron of Ceridwen;¹
 I have been bard of the harp to Theon of Llychlyn;
 I have suffered hunger for the Son of the Virgin.

I have been on the White Hill, in the Court of Cynvelyn,²
 In stocks and fetters for a day and a year;
 I have been with the Logos³ in the land of the Trinity;
 It is not known what my body is, whether flesh or fish.

I have been teacher to all the universe;
 I shall be until the day of doom on the face of the earth;
 I have been in a painful chair above the zodiac,
 Which turns between the three elements.
 Is it not a wonder that the world discerns me not?

And if it be objected that this poem is not the genuine work of Taliesin, still it is a fact that the doctrine in question may be discovered in other compositions, which, there is no doubt, were really penned by the "Chief of Bards," such as the "Cad Goddeu," where we meet with the following passages:—

"I have been in various forms
 Before I was my congenial shape.

I have been a spotted snake on the hill;
 I have been a viper in the lake.

⁹ *Caer Arianrod*, the *Corona Borealis*, so called from Arianrod, daughter of Don.

¹ *Pair Ceridwen*, or the cauldron of Ceridwen, is frequently alluded to by the ancient poets. "The cauldron of *Cariadwen*; out of it were obtained three drops of the grace of the Spirit, and from that Awen, and Bardism, and all wisdom."—*MS.*

² *Cynvelyn*, son of *Teneuvan*, King of Britain; the *Cunobelinus* of classical history.

³ *Llogawd* may also mean *repository*, or *abode*, "I had my abode," &c. There seems, however, a very close affinity between its root *llog* and *logos*. The central stone, representing the sun, and typical of the Deity, in the bardic circle, is called *maen llog*—the stone of the Logos.

I have traversed through the ground,
Before I became a scholar.”⁴

No saints ever belonged to the British Church more eminent than Dewi, Padarn, and Teilo. The first named is regarded to this day as the patron saint of the Cymry. Padarn subscribed the decrees of the Council of Paris, in 557, and he is commended both as an abbot and bishop in the writings of Venantius Fortunatus, a Latin poet in Gaul, who was his contemporary.⁵ We can scarcely conceive that they would have gained the praise, celebrity and influence which the three did, throughout Christendom, if they had not been orthodox, or held the true faith. Indeed, Dewi strove most energetically against the delusion of Llyr Meryni, or Pelagianism, which, as we have observed, was a mixture of Christianity and Druidism. And yet he and the other two were Druids—members of the Bardic College. The Triads of the Bards speak of them thus,—

“The three blessed Bards of the Isle of Britain,—Dewi, Teilo, and Padarn.”⁶

And in the same manner some of the most learned and godly members of the Church have been Bards and Druids, according to the privilege and usage of the Bards of the Isle of Britain, after them, through the middle ages, even to our own day. Such were Geraint, the Blue Bard, who went as a domestic Bard to the court of Alfred, King of England, about A.D. 900; Einion the Aged, domestic chaplain to Sir Rhys the Aged, son of Gruffudd, of Abermarlais, A.D. 1300–1350; Sion Cent, priest, between 1380 and 1420; Meurig Davydd, presiding Bard, A.D. 1560; Davydd y Nant, priest, A.D. 1650–1690; Thomas Roberts, priest, A.D. 1680; S. Jones, of Bryn Llywarch, priest, A.D. 1680, and Bishop Burgess, who was graduated Druid by the late Iolo Morganwg, A.D. 1819.

⁴ Myv. Arch. i. p. 28.

⁵ Cressy, who gives the following references:—l. 7, Epig. 3, and l. 3, Epig. 52.

⁶ Llanover MS.

The inference we draw from these facts is, that Druidism, subsequently to the establishment of the Christian Church in this country, was not professed as a system of faith; that its peculiar characteristics were kept in memory, and handed down in Gorsedd, merely as curious remains of the wisdom of the primitive Cymry. Thus considered, they must of necessity have been of the very same form as they were just before Druidism was absorbed in Christianity. The circumstances of the times were not likely to change or develope them at all, which would have been the case, in some degree, if they had been maintained as articles of faith. It is possible, indeed, that there were some private individuals in the middle ages, as there are now, who believed them as the very truths of religion; nevertheless, such exceptions would in nowise affect the general character of the sciences themselves, which were still preserved by the Gorsedd as traditions illustrative of the gentile religion of the ancient Cymry. We may, therefore, well regard those traditions which have reached our hands, as an illustration of the Druidism of our ancestors during the last epoch of its existence as a practical system, after it had assumed its latest phase; in a word, as a delineation of their religious belief just before they embraced the faith of Christ.

Before we give an abridgment, or a summary, of those traditions, it would be proper that we should point out how we have received them in their present form, seeing that the custom of reciting them in Gorsedd has now been in abeyance for some time. Thus it was:—

When the Cymry had lost their national independence by the fall of the last Llewelyn, the Bards were not only deprived of protection and privilege, but they were subjected to a cruel persecution. The consequence was that they were unable to hold their Gorsedd at its regular periods, and that the traditions and learning of their ancient institute were on that account exposed to the danger of being lost or distorted. Several members of the fraternity being conscious of this peril, and with the

view of obviating it, began to make collections of the Bardic remains in books. In rather quiet times, that is, from the beginning of the fifteenth century, several Gorsedds were held, under the sanction of Sir Richard Neville, and others, for the purpose of harmonizing and consolidating these collections. One was held with that view in 1570, under the auspices of William Herbert, Earl of Pembroke, who was a great patron to Welsh literature. Subsequently, the collection was made more perfect at a Gorsedd held by Sir Edward Lewis, of the Van, about the year 1580, through the aid of the books of Llewelyn Sion, of Llangewydd, who was eminently versed in the sciences of Bardism. The whole was afterwards revised by Edward Davydd, of Margam, and received the judgment and sanction of a Gorsedd, which was held at Bewper, in the year 1681, under the authority of Sir Richard Bassett. That collection was pronounced to be, in every respect, the most complete and correct illustration of the peculiar doctrines of BARDISM, in which, of course, we include the Druidic section.⁷

⁷ See the Preface to the Poems of Llywarch Hen, by W. Owen.

SOME ACCOUNT OF THE PARISH CHURCH OF ABBEY DORE, IN THE COUNTY OF HEREFORD:

INCLUDING ITS NECROLOGY, EPITAPHS, AND HERALDRY.

“ When summer months with balmy zephyrs vie,
 The rod and line the thoughtful anglers ply,
 The Golden Valley anxiously explore,
 Where sport invites them to the sparkling Dore.
 There may the student sweet retirement taste,
 The bard in reverie luxurious waste,
 Beneath the abbey walls, the livelong day,
 And rouse soft echoes to his tuneful lay.”

Herefordia, Canto III.

DORE ABBEY, more commonly called Abbey Dore, (the name being derived from an ancient abbey church, a portion of which now forms the parochial church, and from the river Doire, or Dore,¹) is a parish in the hundred of Webtree, in the county of Hereford, the village being about a mile north of Ewias Harold, and beautifully situate at the head of the Golden Valley.

This abbey of White Monks, dedicated to the Virgin Mary, is said to have been built by Robert de Ewias, youngest son of Harold, lord of Ewias, in the twelfth century, and when entire and perfect must have been a very extensive building, and presenting a very fine specimen of the Lancet or Pointed style of architecture. The abbey, at the time of its suppression, consisted of an abbot and eight religious monks or canons. Its revenue was valued at £101 5s. 2d. per annum.

The chapter-house, cloisters, and other portions of the edifice were pulled down, and the materials sold, soon after the suppression, so that there remain now only the chancel, and that portion of the nave, with its aisles, which extends through the transept. The western nave and aisles formerly completing the cruciformed shape of

¹ *Query*, Could the name of this river have been originally *Dwr*, water?—ED. CAMB. JOUR.

the church, the western arch of the nave being interiorly closed up, are wholly destroyed. There are, however, in the exterior of the church, portions of two arches of the nave, west of the transept, now standing in ruins; and, from traces of the original building, it appears that the nave formerly extended at least 60 feet in a westerly direction.

The portion of the church east of the transept is flanked by two aisles which extend to the end of the chancel; beyond and around which is a kind of chapel, or ambulatory, denominated a double cloister, with a dwarfed roof. This is supported at the east by beautiful pillars, sustaining five arches, and an elegantly groined roof, with two arches on either side; the exterior windows (nine) correspond with them. At the east end of the choir are three pointed arches, supported by clustered columns, and above are three lancet windows filled with stained glass, with two clerestory windows on either side of the chancel. The north and south sides of the chancel are separated each from the aisles by three pointed arches, the two more easterly ones on either side being wider and lower than the western one. A massive and elegant square tower surmounts the building at the south-eastern angle of the transept. A finely carved oak screen separates the chancel from the choir, upon which are wrought the following motto and armorial bearings:—"VIVERE DEO GRATUS. TOTI MUNDO TUMULATUS. CRIMINE MUNDATUS. SEMPER TRANSIRE PARATUS." On the north side,—*Gules*, three stirrups strapped *or* (2 & 1); (with palewise) quarterly, *gules* and *sable* indented; a chief of the second, impaling *sable*, a cross *or*. Crest,—A bear's paw *sable*, issuing out of a ducal coronet. (Name,—Scudamore.) South side,—*Argent*, a pall *vert*, charged with four crosses pattee fitchy *or*: impaling *gules*, on a chevron *argent*, three crosses pattee fitchy *vert*, between as many estoils *or*; the whole surmounted by an archiepiscopal mitre garnished proper. (Arms of the then Archbishop of Canterbury.)

The choir, as at present existing, forms the centre of

the original church, being separated from the western nave (now lost), the chancel, and south and north transepts, by four lofty pointed arches; and a portion of the pews extends into the northern transept. The ceiling is of plaster, supported by oak ribs, to which there are spandrils in the transept portion. The entire interior presents a most elegant and light appearance, and may be pronounced to be a splendid specimen of the Lancet style of architecture, in no way inferior to the Lady Chapel of Hereford Cathedral, probably of contemporaneous erection.

The pulpit, of oak, richly carved, with a canopy, stands at the north-eastern corner of the transept, adjoining the chancel wall; and the pews, with a gallery under the western arch, are of the same material.

The altar table is a slab of stone, supported on three fluted pillars, 12 feet long, by four feet broad, and raised on a dais of stone 15 feet by 12 feet. The ceiling of the chancel is of plaster, with ribs of oak, and spandrils on either side.

The floor of the ambulatory is from six to 18 inches below that of the chancel, gradually descending towards the east, or Lady Chapel. Attached to the transept on either side is a lateral aisle, which forms the entrance to the choir aisle and ambulatory.

In the north-west corner of the chancel is a fine altar tomb to the family of Hoskyns, of black marble, with three divisions on either side, covered with elaborate inscriptions in Latin; and various armorial bearings, amongst which the following are discernible:—

1. *Sable*, a chevron *or*, between 3 lions rampant of the second.
 2. *Sable*, within a border, a lamb tripping, *argent*.
 3. *Gules*, 2 bars *or*, 3 bezants in chief.
 4. A saltire *sable*, between 4 estoils *or*.
 5. A shield quartered, embattled *argent* and *sable*.
 6. *Sable*, 3 crescents *or* (2 & 1).
 7. *Argent*, 3 Torteaux (2 & 1).
- Crest,—A greyhound *argent* semée of *ermine* spots,

holding in his right paw a shield of the first, charged with a cross *sable*.

In the Lady Chapel at the east end of the choir are two altar tombs, with mutilated recumbent figures thereon, one of which is said to be the effigy of Robert de Ewias, the founder of this abbey; and the other that of Robert, his illegitimate son; who, with other members of the family were buried here. In one of the windows of the south ambulatory is the following coat of arms on ancient stained glass:—A shield *sable* quartered. In the 1st and 4th quarters an arrow-head, inverted *argent*; in bend sinister a Palmer's staff, with strap and buckle of the second.

Over the altar, on the stained glass in the centre window, is represented Jesus ascending into heaven; above him are Moses and St. John Baptist; and beneath are the eleven apostles. In the other windows are full-length figures of the evangelists, and of St. Peter, St. Andrew, St. James, and St. John, with appropriate legends.

Upon the western wall of the choir, between the transepts and above the windows, is painted a medallion figure of King David playing the harp; and on the southern side, lower down, is represented the figure of a man of large stature, with a staff in his hand.

The interior length of the chancel (including the ambulatory) is 84 feet, its breadth 32 feet, and its height 45 feet.

In the south transept there are two lancet windows surmounted by an oval one, and below, a pointed arch, with door, under a porch of wood, which now forms the principal entrance to the church. There are two small lancet windows in the western wall of the south transept.

On either side of the chancel are two pointed arches opening to the nave and ambulatory, and forming the eastern extremity of the transept.

There is also a doorway, under a pointed arch, in the north-eastern ambulatory.

There remain no windows in the north transept, and only one lancet window exists in the western wall of the

choir. In the gable of the chancel there are two small lancet windows, which give an elegant appearance to the exterior.

Besides many members of the ancient family of Hoskyns, now represented by Sir Hungerford Hoskyns, Bart., the following persons are buried in the church and churchyard:—The Rev. W. Watts, S.T.P., a late rector; the Rev. Matthew Gibson, M.A., Fellow of Queen's College, rector of Abbey Dore, vicar of Hom Lacey, and prebendary of St. Paul's, who died in 1740; the Rev. John Duncumb, M.A., rector of Abbey Dore, and vicar of Mansel, the learned historian of Herefordshire, who died in 1839; the Rev. Robert Campbell, M.A., Francis Campbell, M.D., and Archibald Campbell, M.D.; the Rev. Digby Cotes, a former rector of the parish; Thomas Cotes, Esq., M.D.

In the northern transept, at its eastern corner, is recorded the grave of Elizabeth, daughter of Thomas Lewis, who departed this life the 31st May, 1715, aged 141 years. There is also the grave of a female (Martha Williams) in the church-yard, who died in 1858, aged 102 years.

Upon a tablet of black marble in the northern transept of the church, erected by the Rev. Matthew Gibson, late rector of the parish, it is stated, "That a great part of this church being broken down, and all of it, together with the Tithes of this Parish being made a Lay Fee by act of Parliament on the Dissolution of the abbey in the 27th year of Henry VIII., the remainder of the said church was restored to sacred use; the church being repaired, and the Rectory Founded by John Lord Viscount Scudamore 22nd day of March 1634."

The abbey lands, late the property of the above nobleman, passed to the heiress of the last Viscount Scudamore, who became the wife of a former Duke of Norfolk, who died in 1819; and, the duchess dying without issue, the large estates of which she was possessed were ultimately divided between Sir Francis Scudamore Stanhope, Bart., now of Hom Lacey, Mr. Higford, of Gloucester,

and the family of the late General Burr, now represented by Mr. D. H. Burr.

There is a massive christening font of stone, of octagon form, in the church; and also in one of the niches of the Lady Chapel, a small figure (detached) carved in stone, of very ancient date, but so mutilated as to render it impossible to assign its age. There is a legend around it, and it appears to represent the figure of a female, about 14 inches long.

The length of the church from east to west is 107 feet; its breadth (the transept) 77 feet; and the width of the chancel, aisle, and ambulatory, 66 feet.

The following, amongst other armorial bearings, are in the church:—

1. Party per chevron *argent* and *sable*, 3 talbot's heads erased countercharged. (Rev. J. Duncumb, M.A.)

2. *Azure*, on a fess *or*, 3 Blackamoors' heads couped at the waist, between 6 arrow-heads inverted, bendwise, *argent*. (Rev. W. Watts, S.T.P.)

The church is situate at the extreme eastern end of the parish, abutting so closely on the adjoining parish of Ewyas Harold, that the road, separating Abbey Dore from it, adjoins the church and rectory on the south.

The parish contains 5000 acres, and is diversified with hill and dale, rich in corn fields and meadows, forming a portion of the beautiful undulating country to be found in the Golden Valley, through which the river Doire winds its way, devious and silver-like.

A most agreeable walk of about two miles from the Pontrilas station of the Hereford and Abergavenny Railroad brings the visitor to Abbey Dore, where, near to the quiet and circuitous road, the fine old church will most unexpectedly and picturesquely meet his view.

The church-yard is large, running from east to west, the fabric occupying its northern side. At the western end is a fine old yew tree, keeping solemn guard over the tombs; and at the south-eastern corner is the entrance to the rectory garden. The present incumbent is the

Rev. Josiah James, M.A. Westward of the church are the remains of an ancient cross.

The mortality recorded in the church-yard and church shows,—That 182 males lived, together, 9434 years, averaging 51 years and 10 months; and 156 females lived, together, 8241 years, averaging 52 years, 9 months, and 4 days.

That the 338 persons (males and females) lived, together, 17,675 years, and averaged at all ages, 52 years, 3 months, and 15 days.

Rejecting the deaths under 20 years of age,—160 males lived, together, 9293 years, and averaged 58 years and 24 days.

That 124 females (of 20 and upwards) lived, together, 8011 years, averaging 64 years, 7 months, and 7 days.

That these 284 persons, males and females, lived, together, 17,304 years, averaging 60 years, 7 months, and 19 days.

EPITAPHS.

Thomas and Catherine Jackson, died 1806, and 1837.

Pass a few fleeting years,
And all that now in bodies live,
Shall quit, like me, this Vale of Tears,
Their righteous sentence to receive.

Catherine Higley, died 1836, æt. 72.

With patience to the last she did submit,
And murmured not at what the Lord thought fit,
She with a Christian courage did resign,
Her Soul to God at his appointed time.

John Brown, died 1843, æt. 40.

In quest of health I went from home,
I little thought my time was come.
Farewell dear Wife, I am not dead but sleeping here,
My time was short, you plainly see,
Prepare yourselves to follow me.

Harriet Johnson, obt. 1851, æt. 29.

Farewell, dear Friend, a long Farewell;
For we shall meet no more;
Till we are raised with Christ to dwell,
On Zion's happy Shore

John and Elizth. Thomas, obt. 1810, and 1846.
 Grievous Sinners we are here on Earth,
 As long as God is pleased to spare us breath ;
 But whilst we can our vices smother,
 We fall from one vice to another.
 If Gracious Providence our sins forgive,
 It matters not how soon we die, how long we live ;
 But suffering here is only Earthly pain,
 But I hope my Soul with God will long remain.

Ellen Morgan, died 1843, æt. 2 Years and 6 Months.
 The Great Jehovah, full of love,
 An angel bright did send,
 To fetch this little spotless Dove
 To joys that never end.

James Pritchard, obt. 1859, æt. 57.
 According to my sudden fall,
 The Lord on me was pleased to call ;
 Dear Wife and Children, pray, be content,
 For God required what He had sent.

Margaret and William Powell, obt. 1843, and 1844.
 As God together did us join
 So did he part us for a time,
 But now we here together lies
 Till Christ shall call us to arise.

Margaret Williams, died 1833, æt. 55.
 When God cuts off the thread of life,
 Then fatal death parts man and wife,
 'Twas God's decree so sure and true
 That made me part so soon from you.

Reader :
 Prepare by times, it is unknown,
 How soon the case may be your own.

Charles Powell, died 1809, æt. 55.
 In judgment enter not O Lord,
 Thy Servant for to try ;
 For, in thy sight no man can live,
 His deeds can justify.

William and Mary Sayce, died 1838, and 1844, æt. 80 and 82.
 Behold, and see what death has done,
 That is the race we all must run ;

Prepare in time, make no delay,
For Death will take us all away.

Elizth. Fisher, obt. 1784, æt. 35.

You see that Death man's breath bereave,
And yet at last we death deceive;
My time is past here to remain,
We all must die to live again.

William Prosser, died 1843, æt 4 yrs. & 6 ms.

Behold how soon the body dies,
'Tis but an Earthly clod,
Each passing Moment loudly cries,
"Prepare to meet thy God,"

Jane Harper, died 1859, æt. 62.

While in this world I did remain,
My latter days were spent in pain;
The Lord was pleased and thought it best,
To take me to Eternal rest.

Elizabeth Roberts, died 1809, æt. 82.

Our life is ever on the wing,
And Death is ever nigh,
That moment when our lives begin,
Then we begin to die.

Thomas Roberts, obt. 1800, æt. 72.

Pain sore ten years I bore,
Physicians were in vain,
Till God alone did hear my moan,
And eased me of my pain.

Tho^s. Harper, died 1854, aged 3 yrs. & 5 months.

When Infants do this life depart,
Sore grief doth seize the Parents' heart,
Forbear to weep, your sin forsake:—
'Twas God that gave, and He did take.

Martha Williams, died 7 March, 1858, aged 102 years.

Repent, believe, and mourn your errors past,
And live each day as though it were your last.

Ann Williams, died 1842, aged 19.

As Pilgrims in this World of Woe,
We seek a Heavenly rest;

Jesus will soon the Heavens bow,
And take us to His rest.

Rich^d. and Mary Preece, died 1839, each aged 80.
This World is vain, and full of pain,
With care and trouble sore,
But they are blest that are at rest,
With Christ for evermore.

George Foster, died 1860, æt. 60.
Alas! How frail are we
How soon our bodies die;
Sinners, behold the grave, and see,
Where thou shalt shortly be.

Charles and George Bevan, died 1842 & 1843, aged 11 yrs. & 7 ms.,
and 9 yrs. & 10 ms.
As angels viewed these blooming boys,
Their breathing virtue filled their joys;
And this, for their excess of love,
They took them to themselves above.

Thos. Williams, died 1828, aged 24.
A Sudden call God gave to me,
And from this world soon set me free;
I hope my change is for the best,
To dwell with Christ amongst the blest.

James Williams, died 1843, æt. 7 yrs. & 7 ms.
A child of Adam:—"Dust to Dust,"—
His body here was given;
A child of Jesus:—With the Just,
His Spirit lives in Heaven.

Mary Addis, died 1812, aged 70.
Soft by the silent grave we once did stand,
Mourned the Memorials of the Dead.
Thou too that readest must lie supine,
Whilst others read some Epitaph of thine.

John Morgan, died 1798, æt. 22.
Swift flies the Soul, perhaps 'tis gone
A thousand leagues beyond the Sun,
Or twice ten thousand more thrice-told
Ere the forsaken Clay is cold.

JAMES HENRY JAMES.

Middle Temple, 24th Sept., 1861.

CONWAY GRAND EISTEDDFOD.

WEDNESDAY.

FROM the towers of Conway's royal castle, from the bastions around the walls of the town, and from many a flag-staff and mast, on Wednesday, August 14th, floated flags, banners, and pendants innumerable, in honour of the auspicious and long-to-be-remembered event which the day ushered in—a Gorsedd of British Bards, and with it the Chair of Gwynedd, accompanied by a grand Eisteddfod within the castle, at which prizes were to be awarded to the successful competitors in literature, music and art, on that, and the two succeeding days. President,—George Osborne Morgan, Esq., London.

At nine in the morning the weather was bracing, bright, and healthful, and the town appeared in its gayest holiday aspect. The entrance to the castle was through a triumphal arch, by the suspension-bridge gate. The arch was profusely decorated with evergreens, and over the centre appeared the motto, “Oes y byd i'r iaith Gymraeg,” wrought in white roses, and above was a painting of the magnificent ruins. A substantial platform was erected from the grand entrance to the ramparts, forming the path to the east gate of the castle yard, which was the Eisteddfod assemblage hall. Its appearance to the beholder from the entrance porch was truly magnificent. The entire quadrangle, from the floor to the top of the walls, appeared as if lined with a cloth of green, by the ivy, and from each side hung the flags of all nations, conspicuous among which appeared the meteor flag of Britain. They were also adorned with national devices, mottoes, and monograms. On the east a superb plume of feathers appeared between two embossed shields, that on the right bearing the motto, “Duw a digon,” and the left one, “Calon wrth galon.” On the west, above the orchestra gallery, which was elegantly adorned, a similar device appeared, with the motto below, “Hir oes i Dywysog Cymru,” and above were placed a crown

of gold, with the monograms "V." and "R." in roses on either side. On the front of the gallery, in a similar manner wrought, was the motto, "Y gwir yn erbyn y byd." On the south side the President's chair was placed, on a dais covered with crimson. Above the chair was hung the President's family crest. Over the entrance to the banqueting hall, from the platform, was placed the motto, "Heddwch i lwch Llewelyn ein Llyw olaf." The audience galleries were most tastefully arranged. The reserved seats, in front of the dais, were covered with white, trimmed with crimson; the ladies' committee gallery, on the left of the dais, in a like manner; and those around, east and west, were most comfortably arranged. The amphitheatre, if we may use the term, was covered with canvas, supported in the centre on spars, rigged on six masts, which were decorated with wreaths of evergreens. The galleries were intersected in the centre by a passage to the eastern gallery, with steps on either side to the respective platforms, there being a second one in front of that mentioned. Standing on it, a worthy Cymro, Owain Alaw, pronounced the place the grandest and most beautiful Eisteddfod hall or pavilion ever prepared in North Wales, within his memory. The grand court seemed actually built for the purpose.

At half-past nine the members of the committee met at the Town Hall, where the bards, minstrels, and other promoters of the Eisteddfod, united in procession, and were joined by the President and patrons, and headed by the splendid Penrhyn brass band, and the 7th company of the Caernarvonshire Volunteers, commanded by Lieuts. Sullivan and Darbishire, proceeded through Lancaster Square, High Street, and Castle Street, to the Castle outer yard, where the Gorsedd was opened according to ancient custom, and the following proclamation read:—

"Y GWIR YN ERBYN Y BYD.—Yn y flwyddyn un mil wyth cant triugain ac un, pan yw yr huan yn nesau at Alban Elfed, yn awr anterth, ar y pedwerydd dydd ar

ddeg o fis Awst, wedi cyhoeddiad priodol, agorir yr Orsedd hon yn Nghastell Breiniol Cynwy, yn Ngwynedd, i roddi gwys a gwahawdd i bawb a gyrchont yma, lle nad oes arf noeth yn eu herbyn, ac y cyhoeddir barn Gorsedd ar bob awenydd a barddoni a roddir dan ystyr-iaeth, yn ngwyneb haul a llygad goleuni.—Y GWIR YN ERBYN Y BYD.”

“THE TRUTH AGAINST THE WORLD.—In the year one thousand eight hundred and sixty-one, the sun approaching the autumnal equinox, in the forenoon of the fourteenth day of August, after due proclamation, this Gorsedd is opened within the royal castle of Conway, in Gwynedd, with invitation to all who would repair hither, where no weapon is unsheathed against them, and judgment will be pronounced upon all works of genius submitted for adjudication, in the face of the sun and the eye of light.—THE TRUTH AGAINST THE WORLD.”

The Bards present were : —Rev. R. Parry (Gwalchmai), B. Evans (Llywarch Mon), J. O. Griffith (Ioan Arfon), J. P. Williams (Rhydderch o Fon), Ll. Edwards (Llewelyn Twrog), J. Evans (I. D. Ffraid), J. Davies (Gwynedd), Peter Ellis Eyton, Esq. (Llywedog), J. Evans, Liverpool (Ioan Lleifiad), J. G. Jones, Waenfawr (Gwyn-daf), Rev. O. Jones, Manchester (Meudwy Mon), Dr. Davies, Beaumaris (Pererin), Mr. R. Parry, Liverpool (Myfyr Mon), Rev. J. Roberts (J. R.), Rev. J. H. Evans (Gwylltfardd), M. E. Williams, Llanrwst (Llithrig Arfon), J. Williams, Esq., Bodafon, Llandudno (Afaon), J. D. Jones, Llanrwst (Deiniol), R. Davies, Llanbryn-mair (Mynyddog), Ab Ithel.

The following were initiated into the different orders of Bardism :—

Ovates.—G. O. Morgan, Esq., President (Prydain); Rev. H. Morgan, M.A., Jesus College, Cambridge (Anarawd); J. Williams, Esq., Bodafon (Afaon Tudno); Mr. R. J. Humphreys (Arwyddfardd).

Druids.—Rev. O. Jones, Manchester (Meudwy Mon).

Bards.—Rev. B. Evans, Conway (Llywarch Mon); Trebor Mai, Llanrwst; Ioan ab Gwilym, Trefriw; Llith-

rig Arfon, Llanrwst; Myfyr Mon, Liverpool; Ioan Arfon, Caernarvon; Ioan Maenan; Gwyndaf Waenfawr.

After the Eisteddfod was formally opened by the sound of trumpets, the President was escorted to the chair amid loud applause. The assemblage numbered above one thousand, comprising a brilliant array of youth, rank, fashion and beauty. Amongst those present were noticed,—Mr. Herbert and the Hon. Mrs Herbert, Llanarth; S. D. Darbishire, Esq., Mrs. S. D. Darbishire and family, Pendyffryn; Rev. J. Williams ab Ithel, Mrs and the Misses Williams ab Ithel, Llanymowddwy Rectory; the chief constable, T. P. W. Ellis; Rev. Mr., Mrs. and the Misses Morgan, Vicarage, and Mrs. Osborne Morgan, London; Dr., Mrs. and Miss Edwards; Dr. Burk, Mr. Hughes, solicitor; Mr. Felton, Rev. D. Thomas, John Williams, Esq., Mrs. and family; T. D. Hollick, Esq., Llandudno; Owain Alaw, Mrs. Felk and family, Miss Hodgson, Mr. John Morgan, Mrs. Owens, Bank; Mr. Jones, solicitor; Miss Hughes, Prestatyn; John Jones, Esq., Llysmadoc, Llandudno; Mr. Bridge, Conway; Miss Birnie, T. Oldfield, Esq. (Eryr Moelfre), E. Oldfield, Esq., Farm, Abergele; Mr., Mrs. and Miss Hughes, W. Hughes, Esq., solicitor, Conway; Miss Reed, Llanrwst Cottage; Miss Owen, Pennyth; Miss Agnes Roberts, Mrs. Allens, Mr. Felton, Rev. M. Davies, Colwyn; Mrs. Davies, Bodlondeb; Mr. Elias Coachman, H. E. Sullivan, Esq., Rev. J. Jones, Eglwysfach; Mr. and Mrs. Owen, Mr. Owens, Bank; Mr. Williams, junr.; Mr. Robert Williams, Llandudno; Mr. John Davies, Bangor; Mr. Lewis, &c., &c.

Owain Alaw was musical conductor.

The harpists present were,—Mr. Ellis Roberts, harpist to his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, Mr. Griffiths, Lady Llanover's harpist, Mr. T. D. Morris, Bangor, and his pupil, Master Davies. A national melody on the harps having been performed,

The Rev. Benjamin Evans, Conway, rose and accosted the President, and then read the following address, which was most beautifully written on vellum, mounted. The

chief lines were exquisitely illuminated, the whole encircled in a brilliant carmine border :—

To George Osborne Morgan, Esq., Barrister-at-Law, London, as President of the Conway Grand National Eisteddfod, August 14, 15, and 16, 1861.

SIR,—We rejoice in giving you a hearty welcome to our ancient town, on the occasion of holding a congress of British Bards and literati, within the magnificent halls of our royal castle of Conway, in the province of Gwynedd. Promoting, as you do, the welfare of your country by your public services, and possessing our affections by very friendly recollections of long residence, whereby we have the honour of claiming you as one of ourselves, we feel that you add another tie to our grateful respect, by the noble proof of sympathy with our national customs, now afforded by your participating in the advancement of our objects, and presiding over our proceedings. The noble assemblage by which you are now surrounded, while it is an expression of warm attachment to the chair, is affording us the gratitude we feel by being placed under your auspicious patronage.

Permit us, Sir, to add, that the Welsh Bardic Eisteddfod, which is the most ancient literary institution in the annals of the known world, still retains its original character, and is carried out in honest conformity with its avowed objects of promoting native talent and mental culture, native poetry, native music, native manufacture. We do not interfere with political questions, but we profess sincere attachment to the laws of our country, and rejoice with loyal pride in the favour of a beloved sovereign of our own blood, Queen Victoria, herself a direct heir of Llewelyn, and of the royal line of Tudor, who from time immemorial have extended their influential patronage to the British Gorsedd. (Cheers.)

We devoutly acknowledge the dispensations of a wise Providence in the moral and political blessings conferred upon us by the annexation of the Principality with the Crown of England, and by the existing intercourse between ourselves and the English nation. We feel that we are still more impressed with this emotion, when we contrast the past with the present; now anarchy and confusion have been replaced by harmony and peace; and by the reflection that we now stand united, hand and heart, with perfect order, upon the ever memorable spot on which the lifeless head of Llewelyn was presented to Edward the First.

We cannot close this expression of our heartfelt gratitude, Sir, for the promptness with which you responded to our request, without congratulating you on the high position you have so deservedly attained in public life, nor without an allusion to the affectionate feelings that have so long existed, and have been so closely cemented, between ourselves and your honoured parents, as well as offering our solemn prayer that yourself, with your amiable partner for life, may

be blessed from on high, by the God whom we serve, with a long life of usefulness and happiness.

Signed on behalf, and at the request of, the Committee

BENJAMIN EVANS, *Chairman*.

Mr. Evans then presented the address amid prolonged demonstrations of esteem.

Owain Alaw then sung, in his usual admirable style, the Eisteddfod song, "O! let the kind Minstrel."

The President, when the cheering, consequent on his rising to deliver the inaugural address, had subsided, spoke with exceeding eloquence as follows:—Ladies and Gentlemen,—Before I say another word, permit me most sincerely to thank the promoters of this Eisteddfod for the honour they have done me in electing me to this chair. Bred, as I have been, literally under the shadow of these walls, as every spot around me is connected with some of the happiest days of my life, I shall ever look back, both with pride and happiness, upon a day which has seen my name thus associated with the first Eisteddfod ever held in this glorious castle. (Cheers.) Let me thank you, too, most heartily, for the warm expressions of attachment which are breathed in the address you have just read. I trust I may take them as a pledge of the continuance of that affectionate good-will which has subsisted between you and my family for nearly three-and-twenty years, and which, during all that time, has never been broken by a single unfriendly feeling—never overshadowed by a single passing cloud. (Loud cheers.) And now, having discharged this pleasing debt, I think I shall best meet your wishes, as well as fulfil the duties imposed upon me, by addressing myself at once to the object of this great national gathering. Tradition says, that in the Eisteddfodau of old, the first question put to the assembled bards was, "what is the nature and end of an Eisteddfod?" Let us ask ourselves the same question. Let us ask ourselves not only what are we going to do, but why we are going to do it. And let us do so in the spirit of our own motto, "Y Gwir yn erbyn y byd." (Cheers.) Let us meet criticism, I say, fairly, manfully,

and face to face; and not do like the ostrich, who tries to escape from his pursuers by burying his head in the sand. (Cheers.) Now, I confess I have occasionally been asked what is the use of keeping up the Welsh language and literature? Does it not operate as a hindrance to your countrymen? Does it not prevent them from gaining, or even competing for, those high prizes which, in England, are open to genius and energy? Why not, when the tendency of everything, and everybody around you, is to assimilate itself and themselves, to merge differences, and to sink boundary walls; why not descend from your isolated position and become English, in language and character, as you are in a political point of view? Now, the first answer I make to these kind of suggestions is, that the thing is impossible. You cannot, believe me, you cannot transplant the feelings and ideas of one people into the language of another. (Cheers.) You might as well try to transplant one of your mountain pines into the stiff London clay—you might as well try to make yonder ivy grow upon a Manchester cotton-mill. (Loud cheering.) Those everyday expressions, those familiar phrases, those household words, which to the stranger seem to be meaningless—or common-place—are bound up with associations deep and dear as life itself. (Loud and prolonged cheering.) Those words are the reflections of thoughts which were born with our birth, which grow with our growth, and which will be the last images to float before our dying eyes. (Vehe-ment cheering.) You could not lightly touch what lies so deep. When you deal with that language you are dealing with a sacred thing—(cheers)—you are treading on holy ground. (Loud cheers.) The truth is, that our national language is nothing more than the reflection of our national character; neither was created in a day; both have grown up for centuries; both have for centuries taken form and colouring from every beautiful object around us. (Loud cheers.) The same nationality which breathes in our language is written in the wild shapes of our mountains, it may be traced in the windings of every

beautiful valley, its voice is heard in every torrent that shakes the mountain crest. (Loud cheers.) You cannot eradicate that language without eradicating that nationality, and to eradicate that nationality would be about as easy as to tear up Cader Idris, or old Snowdon himself. (Loud and prolonged cheers.) But to come down from this somewhat inaccessible ground, there is surely something deeply interesting in the keeping up of traditions and institutions, which carry us back at once to the heart of one of the most eventful periods of the past. We are among the relics of that great Celtic race which once stretched from the Black Sea to the Atlantic, and which now stands out here and there like the broken remnants of its own druidical monuments. The struggles of that noble but unfortunate race, as wave after wave broke upon it, as it was driven from point to point by the ever increasing tide of immigration, would, I believe, if it could be truly told, form one of the most touching chapters in the history of man. (Cheers.) The Roman came with his iron legions, the Saxon came with his indomitable energy, the Norman came with his fiery chivalry, and the Cymro, pressed by numbers, turned to bay behind the natural ramparts of our native land. (Loud cheers.) Here, almost on this very spot, it was that the last stand for liberty was made. Behind these mountains the last Cambrian prince, borne down at once by English arms and internal treachery, rallied his brave mountaineers to the charge. To these fastnesses, in the noble words of one of the greatest of Cambria's poets,—

"The patriot fled. His native land
He scorned, when proffered by a conqueror's hand;
On these to roam at large—to lay his head
On the bleak rock unclad, unhorsed, unfed;
Hid in the aguish fen whole days to rest,
The numbing waters gathered round his breast.
To see despondence cloud each rising morn,
And dark despair hung o'er the years unborn;
Yet here, even here, he greatly dared to lie,
And drain the luscious dregs of liberty,
Outcast of nature, fainting, wasted, wan—
To breathe an air his own, and live a man." (Loud cheers.)

But, ladies and gentlemen, it is not merely for the historian, or the archæologist, that our Welsh nationality has its interest. It has its interest of the present as well as its interest of the past. If I were asked what more than anything else has given to English civilization its elasticity, its vigour, its buoyancy, I should be disposed to answer the fact that it has never allowed one system, or one race, to be sacrificed for the sake of another; that it has given fair play, if I may use such an expression, to all the muscles of the national body. Thus, to illustrate what I mean, while in other countries, take France for example, the object of government has been to annihilate distinctions of race, to reduce all their subjects to a single level; with us the Englishman has remained an Englishman, the Scotchman has remained a Scotchman, and the Welshman has remained a Welshman. (Loud cheers.) Depend upon it, it is to this that we owe the expansive energies, the buoyant vigour, the versatile hearts of that great British nation. (Hear, hear.) That nation which has peopled and colonised every region of the world, from the ice-bound shores of the Arctic Ocean to the burning sands of India. (Cheers.) This question of nationality too possesses at this moment a peculiar interest. If there never was a time when railways and telegraphs had bound the furthest parts of the world together, there never was a time either in which the instinct of a common nationality was so strongly and deeply felt. (Cheers.) Look at what that sentiment has lately done in Europe. Look at what it is doing in Italy. It was that sentiment that nerved the arm of the conquering Garibaldi—(loud cheers)—it was that sentiment which sustained the spirit of the dying Cavour. (Renewed cheering.) Breathe that sentiment into a people, and they become a nation; take it away, and you have nothing left but a lifeless, bloodless, bodyless mass. (Cheers.) Like everything else that is human it is liable to abuse. It may degenerate into prejudice, it may swell out into self-glorification. But, depend upon it, in itself it is a glorious, ennobling sentiment, and I trust the day may be far distant which

will see it decay here. (Hear, hear.) And I do so not only because I love my country in my heart, but because I honestly believe that it is not by servile imitation of others, still less by allowing ourselves to be absorbed into others, but by drawing out that which is highest, and purest, and best in ourselves, that we shall best serve the ends of that Creator Who, when He had made each living thing, saw that it was good after its kind;—of that Creator Who might have governed the world by one law, but has in His wisdom thought fit to govern it by laws as many and as varied as the face of the universe itself. But now a few words about the immediate purposes of this meeting itself. In old times the Eisteddfod which we are now celebrating was part of what would now be called a great educational movement. The bard was the instructor or educator of the people. It is recorded of one of the most eminent of our bards, Dafydd ap Edmund, that when asked, what were the purposes of the Eisteddfod? he replied, “To remember what has been, to think of what is, and to judge of what shall be.” (Applause.) Now, without claiming for our meeting such ambitious pretensions, I think it is impossible for any one to cast his eye over the hundreds here assembled, and to read the programme of what we hope to do, without feeling that such a meeting must be attended by good. But that which gives it its intrinsic value is, that it is the spontaneous doing of the people themselves, that it is not a “got up” thing. I think it ought to be known that for 50 evenings the committee of this Eisteddfod, composed of the principal tradesmen and inhabitants of this town, have after their hard day’s work—(and we some of us know what that is)—given their unbought services to plan and perfect the arrangements, which we see so successfully carried out. (Loud cheers.) And I should be wanting, not only in gallantry but in justice, if I did not add that all these beautiful garlands and devices which you see around you have been worked by the fair hands of Conway’s daughters. (Loud and prolonged cheering.) Now, you talk of instruction and

rational entertainment for the people. Where can you find anything better suited to that purpose than a movement which takes for its motto, the encouragement of poetry, music, and art. (Hear, hear.) "Oh! but," it may be said, "this is a practical age; the days of poetry are passed." My friends, poetry can take care of herself. As long as there are hearts left to beat in harmony with God's creation, wherever there are hearts left to hope with human hopes, to joy with human joys, to sorrow with human sorrows, there, whether on the breezy mountain tops, or in the stifling lanes of the crowded city, whether in the days of Llewelyn ab Iorwerth, or in the middle of the nineteenth century, will poetry be found. (Cheers.) But it is idle to say that surrounding scenery does not influence the habits and thoughts of men, does not draw them up to the contemplation and imitation of that which is great and beautiful. In this country those influences have created a poetry which is loved and admired wherever it is understood. They have created a music which is admired and understood wherever it is heard, because it speaks in the universal language of the heart of man. (Cheers.) Can you wonder that we should wish to rescue that poetry and that music from neglect—to wake from its slumbers the old harp of Wales. (Cheers.) And I think too it cannot be said that we have not accommodated ourselves to the spirit of the age. You will find, I think, that our programme embraces many subjects which will commend themselves to the most utilitarian mind. As a means, then, of education, and of the highest, in fact the only kind of education, self-education, this Eisteddfod is, I think, entitled to the respect of every one, whatever his nationality may be. And its value in this respect is very much increased by a fact which is often lost sight of in speaking of Wales. We cannot but admit that a double language is apt to have one disadvantage—it is apt to create double interests, double sympathies, distinctions between class and class. Anything which, like these common meetings of all classes, can help to fill up that gulf, is an unmixed good ;

for depend upon it, and the history of all nations will bear me out in what I say, no community, whether great or small, ever achieved permanent good in which all classes from the highest to the lowest did not work together for a common end. And while I am on this subject let me take the opportunity of entreating those gentlemen who may do us the honour of addressing us—and I do so most respectfully but most earnestly—not to embitter the unanimity which I see around me by discussion of a political or a theological character—to bear in mind that we are not here met together to further any political or theological creed, but to promote that which is, or ought to be, the object of all politics and of all religions—the common good of our friends and neighbours. (Cheers.) Let us use our nationality as a means to that noble end. Let us strive to make this assembly something more than a mere idle pageant—something more than the gratification of a national vanity. The poet of old was the teacher of man. Before the sound of his harp enmities were assuaged, discords silenced; all mean and evil thoughts fled before them, and gave place to high and gracious aspirations. We cannot live the days of our fathers over again. But in this at least

“Let modern Britons emulate their sires.”

(Hear, hear.) And if by nourishing a spirit of generous emulation among those who have competed for these prizes, we can nurse the flickering flame of genius in a few struggling working men,—if by anything we can do in the next three days, we can raise the hearts and purify the mind of those around us,—if we can help to beat down party feuds and party prejudices, and unite all in a common desire for self-culture and self-improvement, then, depend upon it, this our Eisteddfod will not have been held in vain. (Loud and reiterated cheers greeted the President as he resumed his seat, and Gwalchmai warmly and earnestly thanked him for his most excellent and patriotic address.)

Owain Alaw next sang an Eisteddfod song in English, the audience joining in the chorus.

The following englyn to the President was then read by the Chairman of the Committee:—

Osborne Morgan gan gynydd—a godir
 Gyda mawr lawenydd;
 Lle awen gan ein Llywydd
 Yn Nghonwy yn fwy a fydd. MYFYR MON.

The Bards then addressed the meeting, amongst whom were the following:—Iran Llech, Mynyddog, and Llewelyn Twrog, who read an address by an old bard of eighty years of age, known as Absalom Vardd, who was present:—

ENGLYNION I AGOR EISTEDDFOD CYNWY, YR HON A GYNNELIR DAN
 NAWDD Y WADDOLOG ARGLWYDDDES ERSKINE.

Eisteddfod hynod ei hanas—gafwyd
 Hon gofir drwy'r deyrnas,
 I'w harddu hi a'i hurddas,
 Ystyr, gwel bob meistr a gwas.
 Caed Senedd yn cydsynio—i'w chodi
 'N wech adail ddiwyro;
 A'i seiliau gwedi'u selio
 Ar y graig, nid ar y gro.
 Dynion llawn dysg a doniau,—nodedig
 Mewn didwyll syniadau;
 Nid amcanion gweigion gau,
 A goethwyd yn eu gweithiau.
 Hanesion o'r hen oesoedd,—gwir hanes
 Gerwinawl ryfeloedd;
 A'n cenedl ni er's cannoedd,
 Yn iach blaid, fu'n uwcha'i bloedd.
 Gwynedd fydd oll yn gwenu,—wedi hon
 Ni wawdir yn Nghymru;
 Hen arferion ceinion cu
 Yn llawn awch i'n llonychu.
 Lliwys gyfarfod llawen,—a mwynaid
 Amen hyd ei ddiben;
 Nid swn ynfyd barllud ben,
 A fagwyd mewn cenfigen.
 Y doethion a'u barn odiaethol—glywir
 Yn gloion rhinweddol,
 A dynion yn gydunol,
 Dyma nawdd, 'does dim yn ol.

Llanrwst.

ABSALOM VARD. D.

An adjudication was then read by Gwalchmai on the "Pen." Seventy-eight compositions had been received upon the subject. He said the amount of matter contained in the successful stanza on the writing pen renders vain all attempt at a translation, condensed as it is to the small compass of thirty syllables; still, some idea of its graphic description may be given,—

"Although mute! What earthly sovereign, with all his glory,
Has the thousandth part of its greatness.
The writing pen, ere long, by the influence of its own power,
Will render this earth of ours the habitation of peace."

The author's signature was "Nage."

Llew Llwyfo sang, in his best style, "O! tyr'd yn ol fy ngeneth lân." This song was loudly applauded by the audience, and encored.

The Rev. W. H. Evans, of Conway, read his adjudication on the essays sent in for competition, on the subject, "Elements of Domestic Happiness and Prosperity." Twenty-four compositions were received, of which some were very good. The best was signed "Wi-wi-wi," who did not make his appearance.

The Rev. M. Morgan, the beloved vicar of Conway, was then prevailed upon to address the meeting. He said, Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen,—What can be more striking than the contrast between this castle at the present moment, and in the days when its towers first frowned upon the sea around it? It would then have spurned the green mantle of peaceful ivy which now entwines itself around its giant limbs. It had then thrown its martial cloak about it; it was armed at every point, and bade every Briton beware how he approached within the reach of its spear, lance, or arrow. Times have now altered, and we have changed places with our foes. (Applause.) Instead, however, of repelling them, we invite them to join us in a feast, not in such as was often held in the banqueting hall behind us—one of riotous mirth and revelry—but in one of choicer kind, furnished from the stores of poesy, of science, and of art. (Cheers.) We invite them to join us in deliberating how the higher

and nobler faculties of the mind may be unfolded, and modest merit may be best rewarded. (Loud cheers.) What we wish is to draw the cord which binds the sons of Albion and of Cambria closer still together. (Cheers.) Let it not be said that we, on this account, love our native land the less. We love it most intensely. Our dearest associations are bound up with it, and our fondest thoughts fly to it, wherever we are, and here find a resting place. Its lofty mountains, its lovely valleys, and its sparkling streams, have to us a charm peculiarly their own. (Loud applause.) But we do not wish to enjoy these scenes alone; we wish our Saxon friends to partake of this enjoyment with us; and, instead of looking as of old upon them who cross this noble stream to us as deadly foes, we welcome them as friends, and hail, with fond interest and delight, the arrival of every train which comes freighted with the brave sons and fair daughters of Albion. We only wish them to make a more permanent stay among us, as we have found their value in the many instances of those families who have settled down among us, and who have lent us a helping hand in every work of love and usefulness. (Cheers.) It is true we are no longer ruled by our native princes; but it is also true that our country is no longer torn by intestine feuds and jealousy, and far better is it that our beautiful land is firmly set as a bright jewel in England's crown, and forms an integral portion of the glorious empire on which it is truly said the sun never sets, and which in its quadruple phalanx of English, Scotch, Welsh, and Irish, presents to every invading foe a bulwark as firm and unmoveable as yonder rocks, on which the lashing waves expend their strength in vain. (Loud cheers.) You have heard that on this spot our forefathers presented the lifeless head of Llewelyn to the sovereign of their day. Instead of presenting a lifeless head, my countrymen, we offer to our beloved Queen warm and living hearts—(loud cheers)—and had she passed on one of these days by these ancient walls to the "Green land of Erin," we would have raised for her a shout of welcome

which would not only have rung through these walls, but would have been re-echoed from the surrounding hills, and in its dying notes, would have followed her to her journey's end. (Loud cheers.) One word more in regard to this old castle. We have heard of men of hard and stern temper who, in their youth, felt no sympathy with their kind, but who, by time and vicissitudes, have softened down and opened their hearts to deeds of kindness and of love. (Cheers.) So has it been with this old castle! Hard and grim in its youth, it has, in its old age, with its bald uncovered head, and deeply-furrowed wrinkles, opened its portals to us to celebrate this joyous and peaceful festival, which (unlike its martial deeds of old, to be soon forgotten) will live not only in the records of our bardic gatherings, but will be commemorated in the history of our native land. (Loud and prolonged cheers.) I will only add that it ought to be distinctly known that it is to the kindness and courtesy of the Dowager Lady Erskine we owe the use of the castle for this occasion. (Cheers.) Though unable to be personally present, Lady Erskine, true Briton as she is—(vehement cheering)—is in heart with us, and breathes her warmest wishes for the success of the Conway Eisteddfod. (Loud and enthusiastic cheers.)

Madame E. L. Williams, the Welsh Nightingale, then sang, "Clychau Aberdyfi," ("The Bells of Aberdovey,") which was received, as it deserved, with loud and continued applause.

An adjudication was read by Creuddynfab upon the satirical englynion sent in for competition on the entitled subject, "Yr Herwheliwr" (The Poacher). Seven compositions were received, of which some were very good. The best was signed "Vincent Venson." The author was J. Ceiriog Hughes, Manchester, who was not present.

I. D. Ffraid read the adjudication on the best essay on "The Woman of Samaria," the successful competitor for which was Gwilym Ogwen. The essay was pronounced one of the best in the Welsh language by the

judges. Mrs. John Williams, Bodafon, invested Gwilym with the victor's badge, amid loud applause.

The Rev. J. Roberts then read a part of his adjudication on the essays sent in for competition on the subject, "Life Insurance." Three compositions received, of whom "Hiraddug" was best. He was not present.

Welsh song by Miss Wynne (Winifreda), who was very warmly applauded.

The Rev. Robert Ellis (Cynddelw) then addressed the audience in Welsh.

The Rev. Mr. Harris, of London, next addressed the meeting in English. He agreed in, and highly commended, the spirit of nationality and patriotism which breathed through the President's address, and the proceedings of the Eisteddfod generally, and wished every success to the institution, as he himself was a Briton. He was also a member of the "Briton" Insurance Society, which body, on the recommendation of one of its agents, had given a prize to the Conway Eisteddfod for the best essay on Life Insurance. He hoped it might be productive of good, as it was to be published, in inducing people to make arrangements for a distressed family, instead of leaving them to poverty and anguish.

I. D. Ffraid then read his adjudication on the poems composed on "Conway Castle." Seventeen were received. The successful competitor was "Och," who did not make his appearance. In his absence, Gwalchmai was invested with the medal.

Owain Alaw and Llew Llwyfo sang "Penillion" to the harp, after the manner of North Wales, in the Welsh and English languages.

Rev. J. Williams ab Ithel, rector of Llanymowddwy, addressed the meeting in Welsh, as follows:—If the stones of which the walls of this magnificent castle, within which we are now assembled, could but give utterance to words, remarkable indeed would be the tale which they would have to record respecting the destiny of the Cymry in times gone by. They would loudly proclaim that, when these regions were first trodden by human foot,

more than 3,000 years ago, the words that were then wafted by the breeze, whether along the sea-shore, over the craggy sides of the hills, or along the banks of the beautiful river, were Duw, tad, mam, brawd, chwaer, tŷ, môr, mynydd, haul, lloer, ser, and such like—words that are treasured dearly still by the inhabitants of the town and surrounding neighbourhood, and generally employed by them for the purpose of interchanging their thoughts and wishes—words that are to-day in the highest esteem at this our great national festival. (Cheers.) In the earliest period of its history, Conway was distinguished for its pasture, where, under the immediate care of the Cangi, a great number of sheep and cattle were constantly reared. Its town at that time was Dyganwy, which was also the place where the shepherds and herdsmen used to winter. Then the Romans came over, and built also a town on the Conway, about five miles up the river, near the place now known as Caerhun. This they named Conovium, from the old designation which they found already applied by the natives to their noble river. This powerful people ruled here for more than 400 years; and though they were the masters, and, as was their wont, made every effort to Romanize the habits of their subjects, and to introduce among them the sole use of the Latin tongue, yet when they lost their authority, and were compelled to return to their own country, what were the words that issued from the lips of the inhabitants on each side of the river? Duw, tad, mam, brawd, chwaer, tŷ, môr, mynydd, haul, lloer, ser, and such like. (Cheers.) They disdained even to continue the name Conovium—borrowed as it was from their own vocabulary—the foreign tongue had distorted it too much—they still employed the more significant appellation Cynwy, just as you yourselves, natives of the spot, hold against the unmeaning word Conway, preferring the fine old name Cynwy, *i. e.*, *cyn*, chief, *wy*, water—the chief water, or principal river of Gwynedd. (Hear, hear.) In the fifth century, that is, about the time when the Cymry regained their country and crown, St. Germanus, when he came

over for the purpose of opposing the heresy of Pelagius, imposed upon the holy, learned, and wise men of Gwynedd the maxim,—

“O! Jesu, restrain iniquity,”

which was afterwards adopted as the motto of the Chair of Gwynedd; and here I cannot but rejoice that Gwynedd bears this testimony to the Christianity of its chair—that it thus declares that “good is the stone with the Gospel,” and protests against the infidelity of the age, which would set the Word and Works of God at variance with each other, and exhibit the Almighty as inconsistent with Himself. (Cheers.) In the sixth century an Eisteddfod was held here, or rather near the castle of Dyganwy, under the patronage of Maelgwyn Gwynedd, who adopted a very curious method of testing the comparative merits of the harpers and poets. He ordered the former with their harps, and the latter with their songs, to swim across the river, which they did; on reaching the opposite bank, the harpers could elicit no sound whatever from the soaked strings of their instruments, whilst the bardic throats were in excellent tune, though they had temporarily gurgled in salt water. As an old bard in the middle ages remarked:—

Pan ddaethant i dir terfyn mor ar drei,
Dimeis nis talai'r telynorian.

But,

Cystal y pryda'r prydyddion a chynt
Er y nofiesynt.

The subsequent history of Conway, until the Cymry lost their national independence, is a history written in blood. There was constant war between the Welsh and Saxons. Sometimes the former, sometimes the latter, shouted victory, and planted their banners on the hills. In 1284, Edward I. finished the castle, and surrounded the town with walls. The citizens then were Englishmen, the language of the feast and revelry that resounded within these walls was English—whilst the Cymry—the indigenous people of the district, were reproachfully styled foreigners. But, lo! a change has come over the scene.

The English have met us harmoniously to-day, in the ancient castle of Conway, to pay homage to the old language, usages, and patriotism of the Cymry. Was it in vain that our ancestors fought? Who will venture to say it? If they had laid down their arms without a struggle, it is very possible that they would either have been annihilated as a nation, or else carried into captivity. Whereas now the Welsh and English join hand in hand, enjoy the same laws, and are governed by one of the descendants of Owain Tudur, of Pen Mynydd, in Anglesey, heir of "Llywelyn ein Llyw olaf," whose lifeless head was presented to King Edward in the room adjoining the one in which we now stand. Was not all this worth fighting for? (Cheers.) We will pass over the next 180 years, and come to the five years' reign of Edward IV., 1461. Four hundred years exactly to last Whitsuntide there was an Eisteddfod at Conway, Sir William Gruffydd being judge, and Davydd ap Edmund chief of song. In that festival the new system of vocal song, which had been arranged by Davydd ap Edmund, and exhibited by him at the Caermarthen Eisteddfod, was sanctioned. Davydd ap Edmund had, at that Eisteddfod, given an invitation to the bards to attend at Conway, in an englyn, which is remarkable for its obscurity in respect of metre and consonancy, thus,—

Dowch Wynedd i'r wledd ar Nant Gonwy
 Pam y cwynant pawb yngham,
 Yn y myw ni wel y mam,
 Yng ngwar heb gadair arian,
 Nos dawch dâm.

Tudur Aled succeeded in setting the englyn right, and he alone. He never, however, discovered the mode, and consequently it remains a secret to this day. It was at this time that the 24 metres were sanctioned and authorized as the chair song, and this is the reason why neither a pryddest, nor any poem, except an awdl composed of the 24 metres, can, by right, be the song of the Venedotian chair at the present day. (Cheers.) But, someone will observe, this is nothing but bosh and nonsense after all.

Do we not live in the age of railways, when the Welsh language is not of the least advantage, but rather an obstacle to our getting on in the world? We do indeed live in the age of railways, but somehow or other these, instead of killing the language, as "one of our own prophets" predicted it would, contribute materially towards keeping the same alive. Would such an assemblage have come together to the Conway Eisteddfod had it not been for railways? (Cheers.) But the question is, what is language? It is an echo of the creative voice of God. The ancient traditions of the Cymry say that God pronounced His name, which was perfect music, and that all the creation leaped into existence, re-echoing the harmony, and that it was from this euphonious vocalization that language, song, and music originated. Something in the Book of Job seems to support this view respecting the music of creation. "Where wert thou when I laid the foundation of the earth? When the morning stars sang together, and the sons of God shouted for joy?" Language then is from the beginning a blessing from heaven. The nearer, therefore, we approach the character of the primitive tongue, the more fully shall we enjoy the blessing. But inasmuch as the original language of mankind has been corrupted, and divided into different dialects, in order to come near perfection, it is necessary that we should cull the primitive roots out of the several languages of the world. Therefore, let us learn as many languages as possible, but let us not neglect our own mother tongue. The literati of Germany maintain that there are more primitive roots in the Cymraeg than in most languages, which is the reason, undoubtedly, of its being so poetical. When they first applied themselves to the study of it, they considered it as a daughter of the Sanscrit. They proceeded with their study, and saw reason to regard it as a sister of the Sanscrit. When they became still better acquainted with it, they called it a mother of the Sanscrit. After a while again they found reason to rank it higher still—on a par with the venerable language of Phenicia. Shall we then

despise this blessing imparted to us with our mother's milk. Shall we not rather join heart and soul in wishing "Oes y byd i'r iaith Gymraeg." (Applause.)

The proceedings were brought to a close by Madame Williams and Llew Llwyvo singing the National Anthem, in the chorus of which the audience joined.

A meeting of the Bards was held in the Town-Hall, at three o'clock, Mr. Williams (Creuddynfab), Staleybridge, in the chair; and a grand concert took place at half past five, which was attended by a very large audience.

THURSDAY.

This morning the weather was very fine, and by ten o'clock the hall was completely filled with an expectant audience.

The President congratulated the meeting upon the large attendance. Poetical addresses were then delivered.

The Rev. O. Jones, Manchester, who was introduced by the President, as one of the eminent archæological Welsh scholars of the present day, addressed the meeting in Welsh.

Mrs. Williams ab Ithel invested the Rev. R. Williams with the prize collar and badge for the best essay on "Life Insurance," adjudicated on the previous day.

Owain Alaw acted as judge for the Choirs' contest, (prize £10,) and the following Choirs competed:—The Conway Church Choir, the Conway Chapel Choir, the Rhyl Choir, the Llanllechid Choir, the Newmarket Rhyl Choir, the Bettws y Coed Choir, the Bethel Choir, near Caernarvon. Owain Alaw considered it a "tie" between the Bettws y Coed Choir and the one that sung last, and he recommended that the prize should be divided between them. (Cheers.)

Mrs. Osborne Morgan invested the successful leaders with their prizes, and gave Eos Llechid a £5 note.

Rev. Mr. Jones, of Rotherhithe, London, pronounced the following englyn to the judges:—

Os beirniad, beirniad heb wyrni,—beirniad
Heb arno fawr fryntni;

Boed beirniad côr mād i mi,
Gomeriad heb gamwri.

Its appropriateness called forth a burst of rapturous applause.

Eos Meirion (harpist to the Prince of Wales, the justly celebrated Ellis Roberts) then performed the air, "Of a noble race was Shenkyn."

Rev. Mr. Jones (Glan Alun) addressed the meeting in English.

At half-past two, the time announced for opening the afternoon sitting, the way leading to the castle entrance was crowded.

The President, in opening the business of the meeting, thought they would allow he was a prophet that time. He prophesied to them on the previous evening they should have fine weather, and they then beheld a most splendid day.

Ab Ithel read his able adjudication on the "Origin and Antiquities of the Welsh Language," and announced O. S. Jones, "Baner Cymry," Denbigh, as the successful competitor.

Ann Jones, of Gate-House, Bangor, was invested by Miss Williams ab Ithel with the prize for the best pair of white woollen stockings.

The Rev. H. A. Morgan, Fellow of Jesus College, Cambridge, M.A., was next invited to address the meeting.

Five competitors entered the lists for the prize given for the best penillion singer. Mrs. Owen invested Idris Vychan with the prize.

Professor Rushton, Queen's College, Cork, was then invited to address the meeting.

The Misses Wynne then sang a duet, and Miss E. Wynne sang her new Welsh song, "Lewis," words by Talhaiarn, music by Owain Alaw, who accompanied the graceful singer on the grand piano. The grand concert in the evening was most numerous and fashionably attended. The performances were enthusiastically applauded.

FRIDAY.

The President took his seat a little after ten.

Llew Llwyvo sang the Eisteddfod song, composed by the Rev. Wynne Jones (Glasynys). The tune was that ancient melody known as "St. David's Day."

"Nage," a successful competitor on a previous day, was requested to answer, and was represented by Mr. Hughes, of Llanerchymedd. "Wi-wi-wi," author of the "Essay on Domestic Happiness," was also called for, and proved to be Mr. John Evans, St. Asaph. He was decorated by Miss Williams ab Ithel, daughter of Ab Ithel. "Och" was called for, but did not appear.

The adjudication on the prize poem, "the Eryri Hills," was then read by Gwalchmai. Two poems had been received, "Gwrnerth" and "Aneurin." The judges awarded the prize to Aneurin, who was called for, and Mr. William Roberts (Gwilym Cowlyd), a nephew of the late Rev. Evan Evans (Ieuan Glan Geirionydd), came forward to claim the bardic chair, to which he was conducted by the Bards, and installed according to the ancient custom of the Bards of Britain. The investiture was performed by Mrs. Morgan, the lady of the President. The chair used on this occasion was one which had been given to the Bards of Britain by Queen Elizabeth, and had been kindly lent to the committee by Lady Mostyn, whose property it now is. The enthusiasm displayed by the audience during the installation was unbounded.

Some other business came after, which closed this highly interesting meeting.

BEE-HIVE HOUSES.

SEVERAL valuable papers on ancient dwellings having recently appeared in the Journals of various Antiquarian Societies,¹ and as the remains of these bee-hive houses are found in Wales, I think it would be well to have them carefully examined and described before the progress of modern improvement sweeps them away. In the *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, iii. part 1, is an interesting paper by Commander F. W. L. Thomas, R.N., from which the following extracts are taken:—

“The student of Irish antiquities is aware that, under the name of bee-hive houses, cloghauns, oratories, &c., the ancient habitations of the Irish people exist in considerable numbers, and in good preservation. I do not learn that this class of dwellings is now inhabited in any part of Ireland; but in Lewis and Harris we have buildings identical in form and size, where they are the summer abodes of the people at the present day; so that we witness in the Long Island the expiring modes and habits of the Celtic race, as they have been practised for two thousand years.

“On visiting the place indicated, I found two bee-hive houses; one of them is quite complete and entire, but the walls of the other alone remain; they are but a few yards apart, and are situated most romantically under the shelter of a land-cliff, and, as is always the case, in the neighbourhood of good pasture. The ground is here as rugged as usual; the (so-called) boulder clay is scraped up into a thousand little hills; and huge transported blocks of gneiss are scattered far and near. These ‘bothau,’ as they are called in Lewis, are from a short distance hardly to be distinguished from the granite blocks around, and in fact I was unsuccessful in finding them on my first search. . . . No. 1. is entire—it is 18 feet in diameter on the outside, and 9 feet in height; the ground-plan is an irregular circle; the walls

¹ See Gardiner Wilkinson on “Carn Brea,” in the *Transactions of the Royal Institution of Cornwall*, 1860; Rev. F. Warre, on “Hut Circles at Worlebury,” in the *Proceedings of the Somersetshire Archæological Society*; *Archæological Journal*, xv. p. 1; Young’s *History of Whitby*, ii. pp. 677–681; Wilson’s *Prehistoric Annals*, p. 74.

at the base are 5 or 6 feet thick, the thickness being filled in with a jumble of stones and turf. Above the height of 3 feet, the stones are in single courses, and approximate in a conical or bee-hive form to the apex, where the top is covered with a single stone. The doorway is rudely square, 3 feet high, and 2 broad; an amorphous slab of gneiss, such as a man could easily lift, served for a door. The interior chamber is sub-circular in plan, 8 feet in the longest, and 7 feet in the shortest diameters. In section, the chamber is sub-conical, rising almost perpendicularly for 3 feet, then quickly closing into the centre, where it is 6 feet in height. The whole is built of rough untrimmed blocks of gneiss, the debris of the glacial period. A very little above the floor are four recesses, or rude cupboards, from a foot to a foot and a half square. . . . The stone-roofed houses are naturally not to be met with where enough timber was standing to form the roof of a house; and we may safely predict, that not a branch of sufficient size to support a turf roof grew at or near those places where the stone-roofed dwellings are found. From all I can learn, then, these dwellings only exist in St. Kilda, Borrera, the Flannan Isles, the parishes of Uig in Lewis, and a few in Harris. . . . But it is in Uig alone that the bee-hive houses are the present dwellings (in summer) of the people; even here I do not believe that there are twenty now inhabited, and in a few years they will have ceased to be used altogether. But the ruins exist in great numbers, commonly by the side of some stream, where the grass grows luxuriantly in summer; often at the foot of a land-cliff, where the huge fallen blocks have been adapted to form one side of the house; and occasionally at the mouth of a glen by the sea-shore. Wherever placed, all the natives agree that no one knows who built them, and they were not made by the fathers nor grandfathers of persons now living. . . . About twenty of these dwellings were scattered along the banks of the burn in about half a mile. . . . A bee-hive house is in Lewis called *both*, (pronounced *bo pe, bothau*,) an Irish and Gaelic word, of which the meaning is very well expressed by the English *bothy*, *i. e.*, a temporary dwelling. The name is frequent in Ireland. In Icelandic the same idea is expressed by *bud*, and in Welsh by *bôd*, a dwelling. The most singular feature in these ancient dwellings is that they are still inhabited."

In the ancient British village (described in the *Archæological Journal*, vol. xviii. pp. 40, 41, from which the following extracts are taken) the remains are found in the neighbourhood of cromlechs, as in the case at St.

David's Head, where it is probable the want of wood led to the construction of these rude dwellings of stone and turf. Similar ruins to those at Chrysanster are found on the Eifl Mountains in Caernarvonshire; these are described by Capt. T. Love D. Jones Parry, in a paper on "Tre'r Ceiri," in the *Archæologia Cambrensis* for 1855, p. 254.

"The remains of circular dwellings, sometimes designated hut-circles, formed of stones laid without mortar, have been noticed in various parts of the British Islands; and it may probably be concluded that the rudely-fashioned abodes of the earlier inhabitants were generally thus constructed, in all localities where stone suitable for the purpose could be readily obtained. . . . Where stone was deficient and wood abundant, a different and less permanent mode of construction would unquestionably prevail; and we may conclude that when the stone, from the irregularity of its fracture was unsuitable for the simple but ingenious expedient of "stepping over," so as to form the bee-hived shaped roofing, the hut would be rudely covered in by aid of rafters supporting brushwood, or sods of turf, as may still be seen commonly in the remoter parts of North Britain. It is obvious that only in mountainous, or uncultivated districts, on the heights of the western counties, or of Wales—amongst the hill fortresses of Northumberland, or in distant parts of Scotland or Ireland—in localities still unapproached by modern improvements, that we hope to discover traces of the dwellings of races, whose history and origin is still merged in impenetrable obscurity."

Mr. J. T. Blight, in his account of an ancient British village at Chrysanster, about three miles from Penzance, says:—

"The village appears to have consisted of several huts, mostly of elliptical form; some, however, are more circular than others. The foundations of eight dwellings may yet be traced, and these in some instances are connected by banks of earth and stone: they are all constructed on nearly the same principle. The one in the best state of preservation is formed by a thick wall, faced externally and internally with stones, put together without cement, the intermediate space being filled with earth. On the north-east side, which is the highest part of the ground, the wall is about two feet high, and nine feet thick. On the opposite side it is constructed on a rampart, which slopes away from its base. The height here, exclusive of the rampart, is about nine or ten feet, the breadth four feet. The entrance, which faces a little east of south, forms the approach to a passage somewhat

more than twenty feet in length, and gradually contracted in width towards the interior of the dwelling. The area of the hut within is now a large open space 32 feet by 34, from which there are openings leading to four smaller chambers. . . . The Mulfra Cromlech is rather more than a mile distant. . . . In other parts of the county remains exist similar to those at Chrysanster; and it is remarkable that most of them are situate in the vicinity of the cromlechs and other monuments which have been attributed by antiquarian writers to the Celts and the Druids."

The antiquity of these houses is established by the discovery of a Runic inscription in one recently discovered in Orkney. Mr. Stuart, the Secretary of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, in a letter contained in the *Times* of July 22, 1861, states that,—

"During the last ten years Mr. James Farrer, M.P., has carried out a series of extensive and judicious excavations in many of the early monuments of Orkney, and has brought to light a variety of facts illustrative of the construction of the underground chambers, "Picts' houses" or chambered cairns, and "burghs," which are so numerous in most of the islands, as well as of the habits of the people by whom they were erected.

"His attention could not fail to be attracted to the celebrated circle of stones on the narrow peninsula which divides the two lochs of Stennis, and to the many mounds of various forms and sizes in its neighbourhood. Some of these mounds had been opened by Mr. Farrer on former occasions, but the examination of the largest one was reserved for the present season.

"The mound known by the name of "Maes How," is placed on level ground to the south-east of the great circle. It is of great size, and is surrounded by a deep trench. It was found to contain a vaulted chamber, approached by a long gallery from the outside. These were principally constructed of slabs of stone, some of them of great size.

"On clearing out the rubbish the chamber was found to be about 20 feet in height to the point where the uppermost flag had rested, and 14 feet square. On three sides small openings in the walls were found, which gave admittance to three chambers averaging about 6 feet in length, five in breadth, and not quite four in height. These had originally been closed from the inner chamber by stones accurately fitted into the entrances, which were found on the floor.

"It is probable that this great mound had been searched for

treasure at an early period, as we know was the case with similar mounds in Ireland, which were violated by the Northmen. At all events nothing has been found in "Maes How," except the teeth of horses and the bones of other domestic animals. While the excavations were in progress, Mr. Robertson's eye caught a row of Runic characters on a slab in the roof, and as the work proceeded, numerous lines of Runes of various sizes were found in various parts of the walls, so that when the bottom was reached the series of Runes discovered exceeded 700 in number. Figures of dragons and a cross are also cut out on some of the slabs.

"The Runes are mostly sharp and in good preservation, and it may be hoped that when translated they will throw light on a class of monuments of the history of which it may be said we as yet know nothing certain.

"Mr. Farrer has authorised me to procure careful drawings of the whole series of inscriptions, for the purpose of being engraved and submitted to the learned bodies of Europe."

I trust that these extracts will draw the attention of our members to the existing remains of similar structures in Wales, and that they will carefully examine them, and give the members of the Cambrian Institute the result of their labours in the pages of the *Cambrian Journal*.

M.

VESTIGES OF DRUIDISM.

It is a well-known fact, that the primitive Christians, by way of conciliating the pagans to the new religion, humoured their prejudices, by sanctioning a conformity of names and customs, when they were not essentially repugnant to the Gospel doctrine.

The ecclesiastical polity of the Romish Church is, to this day, almost Druidical. The ancient religion of Britain and the Gauls had its Pope or Arch-Druid, its Cardinals or priestly nobles, and other members of an hierarchical government, who were succeeded in their spiritual and temporal power by the Christian clergy. These adopted an admirable expedient to prevent the people from returning to their old religion. They instituted certain

days about Christmas in imitation of the Saturnalia, which were called the Fool's Holiday, *Festum Fatuorum*, when part of the merriments of the season was the burlesque election of a mock-pope, mock-cardinals, mock-bishops, &c., attended with a thousand ridiculous ceremonies, gambols and antics, such as singing and dancing in the churches, all allusively to the exploded pretensions of the Druids, whom these sports were calculated to expose to scorn and derision, such mimicries being designed as representatives of those offices among the pagans. The title of "*Fatuitas tua*" was, instead of "*Sanctitas tua*," given to the mock-pope, and it is to this probably that Philip le Bel alludes in his famous letter to Boniface VIII., which begins "*Sciat tua maxima Fatuitas*," &c. This is the Pope who instituted the Jubilee, of which Polydore Vergil, a Roman Catholic author, acknowledges, "It is very probable that Boniface VIII. instituted the Jubilee in order to take the people off, especially those of Rome, from the vain celebration of the secular games, and to convert that pagan institution into one of a better tendency.

The Feast of Fools contributed, perhaps, more to the extermination of those heathens than all the measures of coercion; but the people long after the cessation of any apparent political necessity for such drolls, remained so captivated with these merriments, that the primary object of them having being removed, the jest began to threaten a recoil on the clergy themselves by whom they had been instituted.

The yearly processions connected with the old religion are in fact still preserved in the old Roman Catholic towns of Western France, when in their *Fêtes Dieu* the priests and people visit certain consecrated spots in the neighbourhood, with their processions. This occurs as the Druidical Festival, under the Midsummer moon; and, it cannot be doubted, is a custom of the utmost antiquity. Evelyn gives a description of the follies of the Roman Carnival, which is the true descendant of the old Saturnalia.

A. C.

THE TRADITIONARY ANNALS OF THE CYMRY.

CHAPTER XXIX.

THE CIVIL ARTS.—MENSURATION.

MEIDRYDDIAETH, or the art of measuring—mensuration, is founded on arithmetic, and cannot exist apart from it; indeed it is frequently identified with it as a science, as is done in the following extract:—

“The five sciences of art,—1. *Number and measure*; 2. colour and form; 3. place; 4. time; and 5. cause:”

And it is similarly stated in one of the documents, which we have quoted in the preceding chapter, that “it is from knowing every movement and treatment of the *numerals*, all truth is known respecting number, *measure*, and weight.”

Very little is known of mensuration as a separate branch of science, in the prehistoric times of Britain, beyond what we learn in the Laws of Howel Dda respecting Dyvnwal Moelmud, “the best measurer.” We quote the extract, which is interesting:—

“And after that Howel the Good enacted new laws, and abrogated those of Dyvnwal; yet Howel did not, however, alter the measurements of the lands in this island, but continued them as they were left by Dyvnwal, because he was the best measurer.

“He measured this island from the promontory of Blathaon¹ in Prydain² to the promontary of Penwaed³ in Cernyw; and that is nine hundred miles, the length of this island; and from Crigyll⁴ in Mon to Soram on the shore of Mor Udd,⁵ which is five hundred miles; and that is the breadth of this island.

“The cause of his measuring this island was, that he might know the tribute of this island, the number of the miles, and its journeys in days.

¹ Some copies of the Chronicle of the Kings, in which a similar passage occurs, read “Bladon,” others “Caithness.”

² In the text it is written *Prydeyn*; perhaps it should be rendered *Prydyn* in the translation, a word which is generally used to denote North Britain, or Scotland.

³ Now Penwith, in Cornwall.

⁴ On the west coast of Anglesey.

⁵ Literally “Lord Sea;” the British Channel.

“ And that measure Dyvnwal measured by a barleycorn ; three lengths of a barleycorn in the inch ; three inches in the palm breadth ; three palm breadths in the foot ; three feet in the pace ; three paces in the leap ; three leaps in a land, the land, in modern Cymraeg, is called a ridge ; and a thousand of the lands is a mile ;⁶ and that measure we still use here.

“ And then they made the measure of the legal erw⁷ by the barleycorn. Three lengths of a barleycorn is an inch ; three inches in the palm breadth, three palm breadths in the foot ; four feet in the short yoke, and eight in the field yoke, and twelve in the lateral yoke, and sixteen in the long yoke, and a rod, equal in length to that long yoke, in the hand of the driver, with the middle spike of that long yoke in the other hand of the driver, and as far as he can reach with that rod, stretching out his arm, are the two skirts of the erw, that is to say, the breadth of a legal erw ; and thirty of that is the length of the erw.

“ Four such erws are to be in every tyddyn.⁸

“ Four tyddyns in every randir.⁹

“ Four randir in every trev.¹

“ Four trevs in every maenol.²

“ And twelve maenols and two trevs in every cymwd.³ The two trevs are for the use of the king ; one of them to be maertrev⁴ land for him ; and the other to be the king's waste and summer pasture ; and as much as we have said above is to be in the other cymwd, that is in number five score trevs ; and that is the cantrev⁵ rightly : ten times ten is to be in every hundred ; and numeration goes no further than ten.

“ This is the number of erws in the cantrev : four legal erws of tillage in every tyddyn ; sixteen in every randir ; sixty-four in every gavael ;⁶ two hundred and fifty-six in the trev ; one thousand and twenty-four in every maenol ; twelve thousand two hundred and eighty-eight in the twelve maenols. In the two trevs which pertain to the court there are to be five hundred and twelve erws ; the whole of that, when summed up, is twelve thousand and eight hundred erws in the cymwd ; and the same number in the other cymwd, that is, the number of erws in the

⁶ Milltir, *i. e.*, *mil tir*, a thousand lands. By this computation the Cymric mile contained three miles, six furlongs, twenty-seven poles, and a yard and a half, of present measure.

⁷ An acre.

⁸ A farm, or tenement.

⁹ A shareland.

¹ A homestead ; a town.

² A manor.

³ A comot.

⁴ Maer vill ; the demesne.

⁵ Hundred trevs ; the largest fixed division of a district.

⁶ A hold.

cantrev is twenty-five thousand and six hundred, neither more nor less."⁷

The triadic principle is applied here also, that is, to the first links in the chain of measurement. Three barleycorns make one inch, three inches make one palm, three palms make one foot, three feet make one pace, three paces make one leap, three leaps make one land or ridge. It is interesting to observe how the royal measurer regulated his comparative scale: he begins with that which, as being the most common ingredient of human food, is always at hand, as well as of uniform size; then he proceeds to parts and capabilities of the human body. And here we may notice that his observation of the effects of nature must have been keen and constant, to enable him in these particulars to discover multiples one of the other. Perhaps, however, the best evidence that can be adduced in favour of the natural fitness of these things for the purposes to which they were applied, and consequently of the discernment and judgment displayed by Dyvnwal Moelmud in his appropriation thereof, is the fact that many of the peasants still adopt them in preference to the legal measures imposed by the government of the country.

⁷ Ancient Laws and Institutes of Wales, vol. i. pp. 185, 187, 189.

CHAPTER XXX.

THE CIVIL ARTS.—ASTRONOMY.

ACQUAINTANCE with the science of astronomy prevailed more or less among all the nations of antiquity; and though the character of patriarchal life may be said to have disposed men to study the heavenly bodies, it is not improbable, which is also the opinion of the Jewish Rabbis, that our first parents received some knowledge of their nature and uses from the Creator Himself. Our own ancestors, the Cymry, formed no exception to the rule in this respect; “a knowledge of the course of the stars, their names and kinds, and the order of the times,” being ranked as one of “the three pillars of knowledge with which the Gwyddoniaid were acquainted, and which they bore in memory from the beginning,”¹ though they do not appear to have reduced it into a proper and systematic art before at least the time of Prydain. That they paid attention at an early period to the science of astronomy, which they called *seryddiaeth*, is indicated by the very structure of their language; for instance, one of the oldest words which has, and still is, used to denote *time*, is *AMSER* (am-ser), which literally signifies the revolution of the stars. They regulated their religious festivals by the entrance of the sun into the solstitial and equinoctial points, and by the quarterly phases of the moon;² and it may be remarked that the name *Luna*, given to that luminary, is but a modification of the old Cymric word *llun*,³ which means a form or an image, probably with reference to its borrowed light, in which respect it becomes an image of the sun. The “Conventional Voice of the Bards” gives us to understand also that the formation of the sacred circle was to be regulated according to the principle of solar orienta-

¹ Llanover MS.

² See “Voice Conventional,” in Iolo MSS.

³ The Welsh of Monday, or *Dies Lunæ*, is *Dydd Llun*. When the moon is at the full, it is said to be *Llawn Lluned*.

tion. Whether the stones of which it was formed were meant to represent the signs of the zodiac, or other facts in astronomy, we are not equally informed, as tradition is on this point silent. The number twelve, which is seen in some circles, such as that of Gyvyllchi, in Caernarvonshire, would seem to point to the zodiac. Others being formed of nineteen, thirty, and sixty stones, give us reason to suppose that their architects were acquainted with the different cycles which have been deduced from the study of astronomy; it is remarkable that these three numbers characterize the main portions of Stonehenge.⁴

The following extracts, from the "Traditions of the Bards," will give us a clearer idea of the knowledge which our British forefathers possessed respecting the heavenly bodies:—

"There are three kinds of stars: fixed stars, which keep their places, and are also called stationary stars; erratic stars, which are called planets, of which there are fifteen, seven being continually visible, and eight invisible, except very seldom, from their moving within the galaxy and beyond it; and the third are irregular stars, which are called comets, and nothing is known of their place, number, or time, nor are they themselves known except on occasions of chance, and in the cycle of ages."⁵

"There are seven visible planets, and eight more are invisible, except in the long course of time, and vast ages.

"The constellations of the stars are the following:—

1. Caer Arianrod,	The circle of Arianrod,	The northern crown.
2. Yr Orsedd wen,	The white throne,	
3. Telyn Arthur,	Arthur's harp,	The Lyre.
4. Caer Gwydion,	The circle of Gwydion,	The milky way.
5. Yr Haeddel fawr,	The plough tail,	The great bear.
6. Yr Haeddel fach,	The smaller plough handle,	
7. Y Llong fawr,	The great ship,	
8. Y Llong foel,	The bald ship,	
9. Y Llatheidan,	The yard,	The Orion.

⁴ "The number of stones and uprights (in the outward circle), making together exactly *sixty*, plainly alludes to that peculiar and prominent feature of Asiatic astronomy, the sexagenary cycle—while the number of stones forming the minor circle of the cove, being exactly *nineteen*, displays to us the famous *Metonic*, or rather *Indian*, cycle; and that of *thirty*, repeatedly occurring, the celebrated age or generation of the Druids."—"Stonehenge," in Maurice's *Indian Antiquities*, vi. p. 128.

⁵ Llanover MS.

10. Y Twr Tewdws,	Theodosius's group,	The Pleiades.
11. Y Tryfelan,	The Triangle,	
12. Llys Don,	The circle of Don,	Cassiopeia's chair.
13. Llwyn Blodeuwedd,	The grove of Blodeuwedd,	
14. Cadair Teyrnnon,	The chair of Teyrnnon,	
15. Caer Eiddionydd,	The circle of Eiddionydd,	
16. Caer Sidi,	The circle of Sidi,	The ecliptic.
17. Cwlwm cancaer,	The conjunction of a hundred circles,	
18. Lluest Elmur,	The camp of Elmur,	
19. Bwa'r Milwr,	The soldier's bow,	
20. Bryn Dinan,	The hill of Dinan,	
21. Nyth yr Eryres,	The eagle's nest,	
22. Trosol Bleiddyd,	Bleiddyd's lever,	
23. Asgell y gwynt,	The wind's wing,	
24. Y Feillionen,	The trefoil,	
25. Pair Cariadwen,	The cauldron of Ceridwen,	
26. Dolen Teifi,	The bend of Teivi,	
27. Yr Esgair fawr,	The great limb,	
28. Yr Esgair fechan,	The small limb,	
29. Yr Ychen bannog,	The large-horned oxen,	The twins.
30. Y Maes mawr,	The great plain,	
31. Y Fforch wen,	The white fork,	
32. Y Baedd coed,	The woodland boar,	
33. Llywethan,	The muscle,	
34. Yr Hebog,	The hawk,	
35. March Llyr,	The horse of Llyr,	
36. Cadair Elffin,	Elffin's chair,	
37. Neuadd Olwen,	Olwen's hall." ⁶	

The reader will observe that the above names are thoroughly Cymric, and mostly very unlike those which are used in other countries,—facts which indicate an early and independent acquaintance with the starry heavens on the part of the Cymry.

The names of three of our most eminent astronomers are recorded in the Triads:—

"The three blessed astronomers of the Isle of Britain: Idris Gawr; and Gwydion, son of Don; and Gwyn, son of Nudd. So great was their knowledge of the stars, and of their nature and situation, that they could foretell whatever might be desired to be known, to the day of doom."⁷

Gwydion, as we have seen, has given his name to the *via lactea*, or milky way. The memory of Idris is perpetuated in one of the highest and most pointed mountains of North Wales, called Cader Idris, the chair or seat of Idris, which perhaps was his observatory.

⁶ Llanover MS.

⁷ Triad 89, Third Series.

Gwyn, the son of Nudd, is said to have lived in the early part of the sixth century, and in a dialogue between him and Gwyddno Garrahir, which is preserved in the *Myvyrian Archaiology*,⁸ he is represented as a victorious warrior. He is, moreover, celebrated in romance as the King of the Fairies.⁹

It appears from the Triad just quoted, that these men were acquainted, not simply with the science of astronomy in the usual acceptation of the term, but, moreover, with astrology, or the so-called science of foretelling future events from the aspects and positions of the heavenly bodies.

The testimony of classical or foreign authors as to the proficiency of the Druids in the knowledge of astronomy is positive and strong. Cæsar says of them,—“They dispute and impart to the youth many things about the stars and their motion, about the magnitude of the world and the earth, about the nature of things, about the might and power of the immortal gods.”¹ In like manner Pomponius Mela,—“These profess to know the size and form of the earth and the world, the motions of the heaven and stars, and the will of the gods.”² There is no doubt, also, but that Diodorus Siculus refers to the *Seronyddion*,³ when he speaks of the *Saronides*. “They have among them philosophers and divines, greatly esteemed, whom they call *Saronides*.”⁴ Though all this is primarily said of the Druids of Gaul, yet it will apply even more forcibly to the British teachers, who, according to his own implied admission, as we have before observed, were superior in knowledge to those of the Continent.

⁸ Vol. ii. p. 71.

⁹ Many interesting particulars respecting him as such have been collected in the notes to Guest's *Mabinogion*, v. ii. p. 323.

¹ De Bell. Gall. lib. vi. c. 14.

² De Situ Orbis, lib. iii. c. 2.

³ Astronomers. The word is a compound of *ser*, stars, and *honydd*, one who points out.

⁴ Lib. v. c. 31.

OLIVER CROMWELL IN PEMBROKESHIRE.

THE following letters and extracts relating to Cromwell's proceedings in Pembrokeshire have been sent to us for republication in a collective form, as they afford some interesting particulars of the movements of the parliamentary army in South-West Wales:—

The Country (Wales) is all up or rising. The Smiths have all fled, cutting their Bellows before they went; impossible to get a Horse shod—never saw such a country.

Cromwell, leave being asked of Fairfax is on the 1st of May ordered to go, marches on the 3^d.

St Fagans fight near Cardiff on the 8 of May where Laughern hastening towards Poyer & Pembroke is broken in pieces by Col. Horton.

Cromwell marches by Monmouth by Chepstow 11 May takes Chepstow Town attacks the castle—Castle will not surrender he leaves Col. Ewen before it who after four weeks does it.

Cromwell by Swansea & Carmarthen advances towards Pembroke quelling disturbance rallying force as he goes arrives at Pembroke in some ten days more, & for want of Artillery is like to have a tedious seige of it.

[Abundant details lie scattered in Rushworth, VII.; Poyer and Pembroke Castle in March, p. 1033; Fleming killed, 1st May, p. 1097; Chepstow surprised (beginning of May), p. 1109; retaken (29th May), p. 1130; St. Fagans fight, 8th May, p. 1110; Cromwell's March, pp. 1121–8.]

To the Hon^b. William Lenthall, Esq^e, Speaker of The House of Commons. These.

SIR,

Leager before Pembroke,
14 June 1648.

All that you can expect from hence is a relation of the state of this Garrison of Pembroke which is briefly this.

They begin to be in extreme want of provision so as in all probability they cannot live a fortnight without being starved. But we hear that they mutinied about three days since; cried out "Shall we be ruined for two or three mens pleasure? Better it were we should throw them over the walls." Its certainly reported to us that within four or six days theyll cut Poyers throat and come all away to us. Poyer told them Saturday last that if relief did not come by Monday night, they should no more believe him; nay they should hang him.

We have not got our Guns & Ammunition from Wallingford yet; but however we have scraped up a few which stand us in very good stead. Last night we got two little Guns planted which in twenty-four hours will take away their mills and then as Poyer confesses they are all undone. We made an attempt to storm him about ten days since, but our ladders were too short, and the breach so as men could not get over. We lost a few men, but I am confident the Enemy lost more.

Cap^t Flower of Colonel Deans Regiment was wounded and Major Griggs Lieutenant and Ensign slain: Cap^t Burgess lies wounded and very sick. I question not but within a fortnight we shall have the Town; and Poyer has engaged himself to the Officers of the Town not to keep *the Castle* longer than the Town can hold out. Neither indeed can he for we can take away his water in two days by beating down a staircase which goes into a cellar where he has a well. They allow the men half a pound of Beef and as much Bread a day; but it is almost spent.

We much rejoice at what the Lord hath done for you in Kent. Upon our thanksgiving for that victory which was both from Sea & Leager (by cannon volleys) Poyer told his men it was the Prince "Charles and his revolted Ships coming with relief."

The other night they mutinied in the Town. Last night we fired divers Houses which fire runs up the Town still: it much frights them. Confident I am we shall have it in fourteen days by starving.

I am Sir your Ob^t Servant,

OLIVER CROMWELL.

[Fourteen days later a new attempt was made, but again ineffectual. The guns did not come from Bristol for want of winds; and against hunger and short scaling ladders Poyer is stubborn.]

To his Excellency the Lord Fairfax General of the Parliament Army. These.

SIR,

Before Pembroke
28 June 1648.

I have some few days since despatched horse & Dragoons for the North. I sent them by the way of West Chester; thinking it fit so to do in regard of this enclosed Letter from Col: Dukinfield, requiring them to give him assistance in the way.

.

I could not by the judgment of the Colonels here spare more nor send them sooner without manifest hazard to these parts.

Here is as I have formerly acquainted your Excellency a very desperate Enemy; who being put out of all hope of mercy are resolved to endure to the uttermost extremity being very many of them Gentlemen of quality and men thoroughly resolved. They have made some notable sallies upon Lieut-Col. Reades quarter to his loss.¹ We are forced to keep divers posts or else they would have relief, or their Horse break away.

Our foot about them are four & twenty hundreds; we always necessitated to have some in garrisons.

The country since we sat down before this Place have made one or two insurrections, and are ready to do it every day; so that what with looking to them and disposing our Horse to that end, and to get us in provisions, without which we should starve, this country being so miserably exhausted and poor & we no money to buy victuals. Indeed whatever may be thought its a mercy we have been able to keep our men together in the midst of such necessity the sustenance for the foot for most part being but bread & water. Our Guns through the unhappy accident at Berkaly not yet come to us—and indeed it was a very unhappy thing they were brought thither, the wind having been always so cross, that since they were recovered from sinking they could not come to us, and this Place not being to be had without fit Instruments for battering, except by starving.

And truly I believe the Enemys straits do encrease upon them very fast, and that within a few days an end will be put to this business which surely might have been before if we had received things where with to have done it. But it will be done in the least time.

.

My Lord your most faithful
& humble Servant

OLIVER CROMWELL.

P.S. Sir I desire you that Col. Le Hunt may have a Commission to command a Troop of Horse the greatest part whereof come from the Enemy to us, and that you would be pleased to send blank Commissions for his Inferior Officers with what speed you may.

[In Rushworth, under date March 24th, is annouñced that Sir Will. Constable has taken care to send ordnance and ammunition from Gloucester for service before Pembroke.]

¹ Reade had been entrusted with the siege of Tenby; that ended 2nd June (*Commons Journals*, v. p. 588); and Reade was now assisting at Pembroke.

Cromwell to Lenthall.

SIR,

Pembroke 11. July
1648

The Town & Castle of Pembroke were surrendered to me this day being the 11th of July upon the propositions which I send you here enclosed. What arms, ammunition Victual, Ordinance, or other necessities of War are in the Town I have not to certify you the Commissioners I sent in to receive the same not being yet returned nor like suddenly to be; and I was unwilling to defer the giving you an account of this mercy for a day.

The Persons excepted are such as formerly served you in a very good cause but being now apostatised, I did rather make election of them than of those who had always been for the king; judging their iniquity double, because they have sinned against so much light and against so many evidences of Divine Providence going along with and prospering a just cause in the management of which they themselves had a share

I rest

Your Humble Servant
O. CROMWELL.

1649.

Cromwell left London on Tuesday evening, July 10th; arrived at Bristol on Saturday evening the 14th. Continued there making his preparations for several weeks.

In the end of July he quits Bristol moving westward by Tenby (at Tenby, 2nd August, *Commons Journals*) and Pembroke, where certain forces were to be taken up towards Milford, from whence he sailed to Ireland.

“This evening (July 10) about five oclock, the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland began his journey by the way of Windsor, and so to Bristol. He went forth in that state & equipage, as the like hath hardly been seen, himself in a coach with six gallant Flanders mares, whitish grey, divers coaches accompanying him and very many officers of the army; his lifeguard consisting of eighty gallant men, the meanest whereof a commander or esquire, in stately habit, with trumpets sounding, almost to the shaking of Charing Cross, had it been now standing. Of his life guard many are colonels; and believe it, its such a guard as is hardly to be paralleled in the world. The Lord Lieutenants colours are white.”—From the *Modern Intelligencer*, July 5 to 12, 1649.

THE CAMBRIAN JOURNAL.



ALBAN

ARTHAN.

(WINTER SOLSTICE.)

CORNISH LITERATURE.

To the Publisher of the Cambrian Journal.

London, Nov. 30, 1861.

DEAR SIR,—When you asked me some time ago to send you some papers on the Celtic Languages, I promised on the first occasion when I had a leisure moment to comply with your wish. My intention was to send you a very particularized description of a precious manuscript containing a Cornish Vocabulary by Tonkin and Gwavas, the same that Pryce unscrupulously printed at Sherborne in 1790 under his own name, and whose real performance took place at least fifty years previously. This manuscript is preceded by a very interesting correspondence between Tonkin and Gwavas on the Cornish language, as it was still spoken in their time in some of the western parishes of Cornwall, and would not fail to give great pleasure to every one that takes interest in the Celtic and particularly in the Cornish literature.

Still, as I have no immediate prospect of printing the

aforesaid valuable correspondence, and as the production of the evidence of the plagiate of Pryce is by itself a rather interesting bibliographical fact, I hope you will excuse me, if for the present I limit myself to send you an exact copy of the dedication of Tonkin to Gwavas, preceding his Vocabulary, which your numerous readers may compare with Pryce's Preface.

You will perceive by the terms in which the dedication of Tonkin is couched, the contrast between the unassuming style of one of the real authors, and the conceited one of the self-styled.

Had Mr. Edwin Norris, the clever Editor of the *Cornish Dramas*, seen the whole of the Preface in question when I had the pleasure to point out to him in my library the plagiate of Mr. Pryce, I do not doubt that he would not have attributed to the celebrated Lhuyd the authorship of this work.

And believe me,

Yours sincerely,

L. L. BONAPARTE.

To

William Gwavas of Gwavas, In the County of Cornwall Esquire.

DEAR SIR,

In dedicating the two following articles to you, viz. Title VIII, A Collection of modern Cornish Pieces—and, Title IX, A Cornish Vocabulary—I do but in a manner restore to you what in a great measure belonged to you before, since 'tis what you have, in the first of these, for the best and greatest part supply'd me with out of your own store and compositions; and as for the latter, viz. The Vocabulary, I must always acknowledge that without your kind assistance, I should never have been able to have gone through with it, especially in the Modern or Vulgar Cornish. It is therefore but common justice to lay before you these parts of the present undertaking, in which you have so large a share, and to whom must be owing their appearing, if not in perfection, at least without any great and notorious errors. I wish indeed it had been in either of our powers to have made the Vocabulary more compleat: but such as it is, I fear it is the utmost that can be done in it. There are,

that ever I could hear of, no other Cornish manuscripts to be met with any where, than those which are published in this present volume, out of which I have extracted those words in the Vocabulary, which are to be found in them, and to which I have severally refer'd in my quotations. And as for the vulgar Cornish now spoken (except what I have taken out of Mr. Lhuyd's Archæologia) it is reduced to such a small nook of the country, and those ancient persons that still speak it, are even there so few, the language itself so corrupted, and they too for the most part such illiterate people, that I cannot sufficiently commend your great industry in gathering together so much of it, and that so correct, as you have now enabled me to set forth; since, what it has been my fortune to collect myself has been so little in comparison, as not to deserve the naming separately. I may add too, that very few of those that speak the language, can give any tolerable account of the orthography, much less of the etymology, or derivation of those words which they make use of, and are many times apt to jumble two or three words together, making but one of them all, tho' they pronounce them rightly enough. Of this you were pleased to give me lately some instances—as in *merastadu*, which they thus pronounce in one breath, as if it had been but one word, whereas it is a contraction of four, *meor 'ras tha Dew*, much thanks to God, and anciently written, *maur gras tha Dew*, and *merastawhy*, much thanks to you, a contraction of *meor 'raz tha why*.

If there had been the least prospect left of recovering Mr. Lhuyd's papers, especially his *Cornish Vocabulary* (which he tells us in his Archæologia pag. 253. he had by him ready for the press) I should have defer'd the publishing this, yet for some time longer; but as I have long since given over my hopes of it, so I doubt the death of St. Thomas Sebright¹ (in whose hands, you know, all Mr. Lhuyds manuscript collections were) will put a full end to those, which you had so justly conceiv'd from St. W^m. Carew's late promises to you, and the fresh assurance of his assistance in procuring them for you, the heir being a minor of tender years, and the difficulties which attend such a state, from trustees, &c. not leaving you any probability of succeeding in it. And here I cannot forbear bewailing my own misfortune in having, by being imposed upon myself, been in a great degree the occasion of his delaying the publication of it which you will find a hint of in one of his letters, p. 49. and my remark under it, since I was the person who gave him the information mentioned in the preface to his Archæologia, "that

¹ He died April the 11th, 1736.

a gentleman near *Truro* was composing a Cornish Vocabulary," and had "some thoughts of publishing it."—And indeed being then but young, and wholly a stranger to his character, I believ'd his mighty pretences, which I had soon reason to repent of.—But I shall forbear saying any more in this place, for I have not corresponded with him for these many years, and shall only give him this friendly admonition, that, if he still entertains thoughts of publishing his *An Ladymer ay Kernow*, and (what he calls) his *Parochial Antiquities of Cornwall*, he would do well to have them carefully revis'd by some learned discreet persons, especially the latter, which the late very ingenions *Dr. Kestell*, not long before his death, telling me he had seen, was pleas'd to add of it (altering only one word) that noted saying of Juvenal.

Quicquid errant homines ———

——— Nostri est farrago libelli. .

For, said the Doctor, *he has scrap'd together all the scandal, ordure, and filth that he could possibly meet with of any person or family.*—

This disappointment to the learned, and curious in ancient languages, which I was so inadvertently the occasion of, has made me the more desirous of endeavouring at some amends for it; and since both those pieces have pass'd under your correction and review, I flatter myself that they will be candidly receiv'd by the publick, especially our own countrymen, for whom this whole collection is chiefly design'd, and that, since you have so kindly lent me your helping hand, they may in some measure supply the loss of what we had, with confidence, reason to expect from that most learned and judicious antiquary.—

I have in my preface in the beginning given an account of the present undertaking, and the reasons which induced me to print it, and shall therefore detain you no longer than to return you my thanks for all your favors and to subscribe my self,

Dear Sir

Your very affectionate
humble servant

THO: TONKIN.

Pol Gorran, July y^e 19th
1736.—

The following is the concluding part of Pryce's preface:—

As for the vulgar Cornish now spoken, it is so confined to the extremest corner of the county, and those ancient persons who still pretend to jabber it, are even there so few; the speech itself is sq corrupted, and the people too, for the most part, are so

illiterate, that I cannot but wonder at my patience, and assume some merit to myself, for my singular industry in collecting the words which I have accumulated from oral intelligence, especially, as hardly any of the persons whom I have consulted, could give a tolerable account of the orthography, much less of the etymology, or derivation of those words which they use; for they often join, or rather run, two or three words together, making but one of them all, though their pronunciation is generally correct, as, for instance, "*Merastadu*," which they pronounce in one breath, as if it were a single word, whereas it is a contraction of four, "*Meor 'ras tha Dew*," many thanks to God, anciently written, "*Maur gras tha Dew*," and, "*Merastawhy*," many thanks to you, a contraction of "*Maur 'ras tha why*."

TENBY.

It is a subject somewhat remarkable, that the earlier history of Tenby should have escaped the attention of the different authors who have written upon this very delightful watering-place. We have had a great deal said upon its alleged colonization by the Flemings. Its Danish origin has been confidently described; but little or nothing has been hitherto adduced illustrative of its mediæval history.

It is the object of the present Paper to offer a few remarks on this period. They will be such as have been suggested by a recent examination of the oldest buildings now remaining. These are in themselves still sufficiently preserved to throw a considerable degree of light upon the age, and the former importance, of the town. Additional evidence will also be afforded of its former condition, from a document which will be for the first time set forth in print.

The most ancient architectural remains at Tenby, after the church, are the portions of the wall, with its towers, that formerly surrounded the town. Nearly the whole of one side of it remains in a perfect state. Some of the towers exist, though the finest has been considerably

injured. The masonry of this curtain, its height and general character, are so like what is to be seen of the town walls of Caernarvon, that the age of both is immediately perceived to be identical. Where such complete uniformity exists, it is far from improbable that the entire design may have originated from the same mind.

Caernarvon was inclosed in the eleventh year of Edward I. At this time Tenby constituted part of the great demesnes of William de Valence.

Now, as nothing was more likely than that this most enviable possession would be carefully protected by the best military fortifications of the period, so no one was in a position to execute these works unless he received the commands of its suzerain for the necessary outlay. Looking, then, at the character of the architecture of the towers and walls at Tenby, there can be no doubt but they owe their erection to William de Valence.

Under the guidance of this kind of induction, we may equally assume that the slight remains of the castle, and the portions of gate-ways, are the creation of the same mind. They are even yet distinctly visible, notwithstanding the modern alterations and additions from which they have suffered.

A few houses in the town, which were also the erections of the same time, are still left. Both these buildings, and the local architecture of the surrounding district, indicate a close adherence to the Edwardian style. It has been the custom to designate this method of building as Flemish work. The advocates of this notion supposing, and indeed asserting, that the Flemings introduced that peculiar method of building, which is observable in all the earlier structures of Pembrokeshire.

This opinion, however, has no foundation to support it. The Flemings, in the days of the Plantagenets, may, for the sake of commerce, have casually visited this genial region. To infer, therefore, that they colonized and peopled it, that they erected churches, and towers, and town walls, simply because these are the earliest buildings in the district, or because they exhibit unusual fea-

tures, (unusual at least to those unaccustomed to examine ancient examples,) is a most unreasonable conclusion. It is not only in itself untrue, but it precludes the possibility that the Earls of Pembroke, the greatest subjects in the realm, were able to introduce the influence of their wealth, and of their power, into the most cherished part of their own territory. When, therefore, it is stated that the buildings of this part of South Wales give evidence of their Flemish origin, it may be simply replied that there is nothing in the architecture of this part of the country to favour such a notion. There is nothing which is not to be seen in other districts, or else easily accounted for as a provincial aberration, or a peculiarity of style, that equally displays itself in various localities throughout England.

A line of country where a particular stone abounds, will always have its buildings influenced, in their architectural forms and colours, by the material supplied from its quarries. The masonry will be also dependent on the size of the ashlar. If they are small, buildings will show a degree of rudeness that will clothe them with an air of antiquity that does not really belong to them. As in the flint churches of Norfolk, towers were built round, because the stones were not large enough to build them square. Thus, in Pembrokeshire, there are a large number of circular chimneys, picturesque beyond anything of the kind we have ever seen, and forming a most striking part of the building to which they are attached. These chimneys, because unusual, have been designated examples of "Flemish architecture." They are adduced to swell the argument in favour of the Flemish colonization, though such chimneys would at the present day be in vain looked for in Flanders itself.

Whatever the advocates of the Flemish colonization of Pembrokeshire and Gower may have to advance, they can certainly find nothing in the architecture of either of these districts, or in any one of their visible monuments, to support their theories.

It may be safely asserted, that the general style of the

oldest buildings in these parts of South Wales is of an Edwardian period. At the first glance, it must be confessed that they look as though they belonged to an earlier age. Yet a closer examination leads to a different conclusion. Take, for example, the slight remains of the arches at Tenby, as observable in the small but valuable ruins of its castle. Look at the gateways of Carew, and its concentric towers; at the vaulting of Manorbeer; or at the windows of St. David's Hospital at Swansea. I allude to the last more particularly, because, although it is apparently insignificant, and almost entirely hidden from general notice, it does in reality furnish the solution of the difficulty that is apparent in these and other buildings in Glamorganshire. Fortunately, a record has been preserved, relating to this foundation of St. David's Hospital at Swansea; and whilst the building itself exhibits the characteristic traits observable in many of the Pembroke-shire and Glamorganshire castles, the record in question supplies the date of its erection. Henry de Gower, Bishop of St. David's, founded this hospital in 1322. It was evidently erected immediately afterwards. The windows, and the mouldings, still existing, furnish the alphabet by which the date of other buildings in the district may conclusively be fixed. There is a remarkable similarity betwixt all those that we meet with in Glamorganshire, Gower, and Pembrokeshire. The architectural movement seems to have been made almost simultaneously; the older buildings throughout the country partake of the same characteristic details; and we are hence enabled to express the conviction that they have been erected for the most part betwixt the commencement of the reign of Edward I., and the end of that of his successor. There is nothing throughout the interesting peninsula of Gower that is either earlier or much later. At Tenby there remains actually nothing, except portions of the church, that belongs to a previous reign.

In attempting, however, to define with this degree of accuracy the age of the oldest portions of Tenby itself, I must not omit to give additional reasons for coming

to such a conclusion. These reasons will not depend merely upon architectural induction, nor be open to the objections naturally raised by those who are unaccustomed to a rigid examination of ancient buildings.

We will inquire into the mediæval history of Tenby itself, as it has been preserved amongst the public records.

There is ample ground for believing that it formed a part of those extensive possessions in Pembrokeshire that belonged to William Marshall, Earl of Pembroke, who died in 1219. That it descended to his son William, who is more commonly known as one of the Magna Charta barons, and that it passed through his four brothers when the Earldom became extinct. It was then restored to William de Valence in 1247. This William married Joanna, daughter of Warine de Munchensi, and died in 1296. His widow was seized, at her death, in 1307, of Goodrich Castle, Castlemartin, Pembroke and Tenby. This is the first time any mention of the last place occurs on the Inquisitions, and being the earliest record of an official character relating to the town, one not hitherto printed, it is desirable to present it in an extended form.¹

MARCHIA WALLIÆ.

Inquisitio facta per excaetorem Domini Regis de terris et tene-
mentis de Tenebey quæ Johanna de Valencia nuper comitissa
Pembrochiæ tenuit de domino Rege in Capite die quo obiit, apud
Teneby diē Veneris proxima post festum Sancti Lucæ Evangel-
istæ anno regni Regis Edwardi primo per sacramentum Johannis
Jacob, Williemi Godwyn, Adæ Wader, Walteri Horwod, Stephani
Clerici, Johannis de Esse, Wyardi Le Taylur, Walteri Peverel,
Walteri Hun, Johannis Eder, Johannis Telagh, David Reymund.
Qui dicunt per sacramentum suum quod sunt ibidem viginti
acraæ terræ forincecæ et reddunt per annum xx. s. medietatem ad
festum Sancti Michaelis et medietatem ad festum Paschæ. Et est
ibidem una acra prati et valet per annum ii. s. reddendos ad
festum Sancti Michaelis. et sunt ibidem duo molendina, unum
aquaticum et unum ad ventum, et valent per annum lxvj. ſ. viii. d.
reddendos, medietatem ad festum Sancti Michaelis et medietatem
ad festum Paschæ. Et sunt sex Burgagia ad ventitia et reddunt

¹ Inquis 1. Edw. II., No. 58.

per annum vj. s. medietatem ad festum Sancti Michaelis medietatem ad festum Paschæ. Et sunt ibidem viginti sensarii et reddunt per annum vj. s. viij. d. medietatem ad festum Sancti Michaelis et medietatem ad festum Paschæ. Et prisā cervisiæ villæ valet per annum xx^s. et tolnetum valet per annum xx^s. Item dicunt quod prædicta Johanna tenuit in dominico suo ut de feodo die quo obiit prædicta tenementa de domino Rege sed per quæ servitia ignorant. Et perquisitæ curiæ valent per annum xx. s. Et quod Adomar filius et propinquior hæres ejus est et est etatis triginta sex annorum et amplius. In cujus rei testimonium huic Inquisitioni dicti Juratores sigilla sua apposuerunt.

It appears from the preceding Record that Joanna de Valencia, Countess of Pembroke, held at Tenby, in capite, at the day of her decease, twenty acres of land, an acre of meadow, two mills, six burgages, twenty quit rents, prise of ale and toll, besides perquisites of court. It further states that Adomar de Valence, her heir, was then thirty-six years of age, and upwards.

Upon the names of the jurors, it may be remarked, as a curious fact, that they should be all Englishmen. This will serve to show that the place was then completely Anglicised, if not in the names of the people, as the town of Tenby most likely furnished the twelve jurors, certainly in the rights belonging to the lord.

Amongst these rights the prise of ale was a very important one. It gave the castellan privilege to take what provision, as well of corn as of ale, he thought necessary for the defence of his garrison. Not merely from the town itself, but from his adjacent domain. To take it at his pleasure, at his own price, and own time of payment. This was considered so great a grievance that the fortieth clause of the Great Charter aimed at its abolition. The *Assisa Panis et Cervisiæ*² also endeavoured to correct such unjust dealings with the lord's tenants. The evil, however, was not immediately corrected. The seventh clause of the first Statute of Westminster (3 Edward I.) materially checked this oppressive custom, by providing that no constable or castellan should exact any prise of

² See Statutes of the Realm, v. i. p. 123.

any other than of such as be of their town or castle, and that it be paid, or else agreement made for payment, within forty days.³ Beyond this there does not appear any occasion to notice the other particulars of the Inquisition, there not being anything unusual in its character.

Another proof may be adduced to show that the town walls and the castle of Tenby were erected under the auspices of William de Valence and his wife Joanna. Whilst the architecture, as has already been shown, may without dispute be assigned to the period of their possessing this fief, they granted to the inhabitants that charter which has been the foundation of their liberties. It exempted them from stallage, lestage, passage, toll, &c.; from carrying, mowing, binding and gathering on the lands of the lord; from all other labours pertaining to their mills, houses and lands; from castle guard and array of arms. This charter also granted them right of common; power to choose two bailiffs fit for the earl's business, who should be subject to no other labours than that of holding the Hundred Court, and collecting the different fines, rents and tolls in the town and harbour.

No burgesses attached, except for felony, were to be taken further than the gate of the castle of Tenby, if they could find sufficient bail.

This charter was confirmed by Adomar de Valencia. He further gave the burgesses a grant of market, and permission to bequeath the lands and tenements which any burgess might have acquired in the town, or the burgage lands belonging to it.

Adomar de Valence died in 1324, when, as it appears from an Inquisition, he was seised of the county, vill and castle of Pembroke, the castles of Goodrich, Haverford, Castlemartin, Abergavenny, and the vill and castle of Tenby. With Adomar the tenure of the De Valences became extinct.

Laurence de Hastings, who had married Isabella, the daughter of William de Valence, and the sister of Ado-

³ Ibid. p. 28.

mar, was confirmed in the earldom of Pembroke in 1339. By this alliance he further obtained Castlemartin, Pembrokeshire, with its vill and castle, and the vill and castle of Tenby. There exists an Inquisition upon his property in the 22nd of Edward III., when he died.

Tenby is further indebted to his son-in-law, Lawrence de Hastings, as he confirmed the charters granted by William and Adomar de Valence, increasing also the power of the Hundred Court.

His son, John de Hastings, who married Margery, daughter of Edward III., as appears from an Inquisition taken at his death in 1375 (49 Edw. III.), died possessed of Abergavenny Castle, Pembroke, Kilgarron, and Tenby. Thus looking at the architectural remains yet in existence, coupling their peculiar features with the history of the descent of the town, we gather that information which neither of them, if viewed alone, could supply. Taken in connexion with each other, they show that Tenby owes all its archæological interest, as well as its importance, its own municipal privileges, as well as its elevation into the rank of a town, to the favourable regard of the noble family of De Valence.

CHARLES HENRY HARTSHORNE.

SOME ACCOUNT OF THE PARISH CHURCHES OF
KILPECK, AND ALLENSMORE, IN THE
COUNTY OF HEREFORD:

THEIR NECROLOGY AND EPITAPHS.

“ Now quits the Muse her pleasing task to guide,
But bids the thoughtful Rambler turn aside,
And ere to Hereford he bids ‘ adieu,’
Of Kilpeck Church and Castle take a view.”

Herefordia, Canto V.

THE parish church of Kilpeck is one of the few Norman ecclesiastical edifices to be now found in this county; which, from its pretty situation, its beautiful interior arches, and apsidal form of the eastern end, its curious doorway, and grotesque carvings, claims the close attention of the antiquary and tourist.

It stands within a small grave-yard, on rising ground, very near to the ancient castle, about a quarter of a mile from the St. Devereux station of the Hereford and Aberravenny Railway. The walk to it is partly by the road which crosses the railway line, and then through a fine open meadow on the right hand, whose path leads directly to the church-yard gate.

The church was founded, together with a Benedictine priory, now destroyed, by Hugh Fitz-William, whose father received the manor from the Conqueror.

The church and priory were given in the year 1134 to the abbey of St. Peter at Gloucester, by the founder, whose great-grand-daughter marrying Robert de Walerand, a partisan of Henry III., against the malcontent barons, the manor descended to his nephew, Alan de Plokenet, on the death of whose niece, Joanna de Bohun, the estate passed to the Delaberes. It afterwards went to the Butler family, but whose estates were confiscated in 1715, on the attainder of the Duke of Ormond for treason. Kilpeck was subsequently purchased by the Duke of Chandos, who sold it to an ancestor of the present proprietor, T. G. Symons, Esq.

Kilpeck church, which was restored about twelve years since, under the care of the late Dean Merewether, by Mr. L. N. Cottingham, is a most perfect specimen of the pure Norman architecture of the twelfth century. It requires only the present seat-accommodation, which is rude and incongruous, to be replaced by open pews, in keeping with the more substantial portion of the edifice, to render it also wholly agreeable to the taste of the most fastidious of critics.

The chancel is of the apsidal form, extending considerably beyond the altar table. Over the west end is a turret richly adorned with double arches, containing two bells. In the interior are two fine arches, the larger one connecting the nave (or body of the church) with the chancel, and the smaller one connecting the chancel with the apse.

On the gables over the chancel are two crosses; and under the eaves, and all round the building, at the same level, is ranged a corbel table, including seventy-four designs of heads, human figures, beasts, birds, and monsters, many of them very quaint. In addition to these, at the west end, are three projecting brackets, one lately restored, carved with heads resembling those of crocodiles, the tongues serving for supports.

The doorway (of which there is a cast at the Crystal Palace) is on the south side, near to the west end, and is decorated with the zig-zag, nail-head, and stud mouldings. The wall around it, to a considerable width, is covered with elaborate Norman ornaments, including dragons and birds, interwoven twigs, and other patterns. This door was formerly within a porch, and taken down, perhaps, to let in light during service, the windows being small, resembling those of the Saxon period, rendering the edifice somewhat gloomy in its aspect. The west window is surrounded by columns with the cable pattern.

The columns supporting the central arch of the interior are decorated with apostolic figures, and above and on each side are rich mouldings of pointed ornaments. A font of the same date, newly mounted, occupies the centre;

and near it is a vessel for holding holy water, which formerly stood in the doorway. The latter, when perfect, was probably carved to resemble the human body, being clasped with hands in the front.

The smaller arch is of plain form, from which the apse, with its groined and tripartite roof, directly springs. The three small windows in the apse, which were restored by the Rev. Archer Clive, the incumbent, contain two representations of King David, and another of a lamb bearing a cross.

The church contains 146 sittings, of which 69 are free.

The interior length of the nave is 32 feet 6 inches; chancel, 15 feet; apse, 10 feet; total, 57 feet 6 inches.

The breadth of the nave is 23 feet 4 inches; of the chancel, 18 feet 9 inches; and of the apse, 15 feet.

The pulpit and reading-desk are on the north side, in the angle of the larger arch against the north wall, and facing the body of the church in an oblique direction.

Westward of the church, at a distance of about 100 yards, is a path leading to the ruins of the castle, of which only two portions of stone-work, on the exterior edges of the mound upon which they stand, now only remain. Around it are the remains of the old moat. The view from the point of the mound, embracing the surrounding county of Hereford, and the range of the Hatterel, or Black Mountains, in Breconshire, is very pleasing and extensive. A quarter of a mile further south is a farm-house, occupying the former site of the ancient priory.

The mortality recorded in the church-yard, at all ages, shows that 74 males lived, together, 4088 years, averaging 55 years, 2 months, and 27 days.

That 80 females lived, together, 3533 years, averaging 44 years, 1 month, and 28 days: and,

That the 154 persons (males and females) lived together 7621 years, and averaging 49 years, 5 months, and 25 days.

Rejecting, out of this number, the ages of persons dying under 20 years of age, there were 63 males living,

together, 3977 years, and averaging 61 years, 6 months, and 14 days.

That there were 59 females who lived together 3394 years, averaging 57 years, 6 months, and 9 days: and

The above 122 persons (males and females, of 20 years and upwards) lived together 7371 years, averaging 60 years and 5 months.

The six oldest females were respectively aged 84, 85, 89, 91, 95, 97.

The six oldest males were respectively aged 71, 80, 81, 83, 85, 92.

EPITAPHS.

Thomas Gwillim, died 1832, æt. 85.

An Honest Man, a husband dear,
A faithful Friend lies buried here,
Until our Saviour Christ shall say,
"Rise up, thou blest, and come away."

David Saunders, died 1802, aged 20.

Why do you mourn departing friends,
Or shake at Death's alarms.

'Tis but the voice that Jesus sends,
To call me to his arms.

The God omniscient could my woes fortell,
And showed his gracious pity where I fell.

William Morgan, died 1857, æt. 35.

We must prepare, make no delay,
For sudden death took me away.
I was cut down when Death appeared,
And cut down in my prime:
Dear friends prepare to follow me,
To meet your God in time.

Prudent Palmer, died 1843, æt. 26.

The Four last Things to be remembered:

Death,	Judgment,
Hell,	Heaven.

Joyce Elizth. Ridgway, died 1854, æt. 3 ms.

Short as my infant life did last.

It much resembles thine,

Thy longer date, when once 'tis past,

Will seem as short as mine.

Lucy and Stephen Charles, died 1838 & 1837, æt. 49 & 51 years.

Calm and easy was their parting breath,
Peaceful through Christ their mind in death ;
This sinful world they left behind,
In hope a sinless home to find.

Sarah Lewellin, died 1829, æt. 66.

Dear children all be ready and prepared ;
The cry will be—" go forth to meet your Lord,"
The reward is sure if you are watching found,
Oh ! Watch therefore, let no one take your Crown.

Elizabeth Lewellin, died 1826, æt. 25.

To him by whom I was deceived,
And seeming left forlorn ;
Let sleepless Nights and gloomy Eves
Alway his brows adorn.

Ann Thomas, died 1827, æt. 20.

Lo ! here I lie with my dear Babe,
All covered with cold clay ;
Hoping with joy to meet the Lord,
At the Eternal Day.

Edw^d. Powell, died 1847, aged 3 yrs : & 8 months.

By an accident my days were short,
God's will it should so be ;
But now I lie among the blest,
And out of misery.

John Lewellin, died 1836, æt. 18.

'Twas but a short, uncertain space,
Allowed me here to live ;
Death unperceived came on apace,
And did no warning give.

Tho^s. Lewellin, died 1846, æt. 56.

My Life in sickness here has been,
And much affliction I have seen ;
But Christ by death has set me free,
To live with Him eternally.

Tho^s. Palmer, died 1827, æt. 80.

When I survey that wondrous cross,
On which the Prince of Glory died,
My richest gain I count but loss,
And pour contempt on all my pride.

Were the whole realm of nature mine,
 It were a present far too small:
 Love so amazing, so divine,
 Deserves my Soul, my life, my all.

William Matthews, died 1835, æt. 84.

My glass is run, my time is spent,
 My life is gone, it was but lent;
 And as I am so you must be,
 Therefore prepare to follow me!

Lucy Saunders, died 1835, æt. 21.

A virtuous wife is gone betimes,
 To moulder in the dust;
 But from a slumbering grave she'll rise,
 In Glory with the just.

Jane Prosser, died 1828, æt. 21.

Dear friends, now grieve for me no more,
 Though great afflictions I have borne;
 My Marriage Bed lies in the dust
 Till Christ appears in whom I trust.
 If love and care could death prevent,
 My life it had not soon been spent.

Sarah Bawell, died 1840, æt. 38.

My time was short when Death drew near,
 To part from earthly friends I loved so dear;
 I little thought my glass was run,
 Till suddenly my breath was gone.

Josiah Beavan, died 1855, æt. 45.

Farewell dear wife and children dear,
 It is grief to you by looking here,
 It was God's own will to cause the fall,
 To take me suddenly from you all:
 So now prepare without delay,
 To meet me at the Judgment Day.

James Preece, died 1836, æt. 11 years.

Farewell, dear boy, again farewell,
 Soon we shall follow Thee,
 And when we meet no tongue can tell
 How great our joy will be.

Nancy Rudge, died 1830, æt. 51.

Till the last Trumpet sounds to everlasting life,
 Here lies a loving and beloved wife:

No doctors' skill nor friends' goodwill
 Her precious life could save,
 Till God saw fit to ease her pain,
 And called her to the grave.
 A husband and children dear left in this vain world behind,
 Hoping God will them provide, who lost a friend so kind.

Hannah Prosser, died 1822, æt. 23.

Prepare to die while you have time,
 I was cut off just in my prime :
 I left this world both calm and free,
 In hope a better for to see.

William Parry, died 1832, æt. 73.

Farewell my wife and children dear,
 Which I have left behind ;
 Be to each other in your state,
 Both dutiful and kind.
 Then God will bless your labour here,
 While you on Earth do stay,
 And after death, 'twill be in praise,
 At the great Judgment Day.

Susannah Parry, died 1834, æt. 64.

Pale Death could hardly find another,
 So good a wife, so kind a mother :
 Her goodness was to all her kind
 That scarce her equal you can find.

Emma James, died 1833, æt. 29.

Alas ! How frail are we,
 How soon our bodies die,
 Sinners, behold the grave and see
 Where thou must shortly lie.

Tho^s. West, died 1793, æt. 39.

Weep not for me, my wife and children dear,
 I am not dead but sleeping here :
 The time will come, I hope, when we,
 Shall enjoy Felicity.

ALLENSMORE CHURCH.

The parish of Allensmore is situate about four and a half miles south-west of the city of Hereford, on the old turnpike road between the former place and Abergavenny, and is traversed by the Hereford and Newport Railway.

The church stands at a short distance from the high road, and is very prettily situate, the vicarage house immediately adjoining it. The edifice is spacious, consisting of a nave, chancel, and lofty tower, which contains a musical peal of bells, and is in the English style of architecture.

The church contains several monuments to the memory of the old and respected family of Pateshall, whose seat and estate are in the parish; and of other respectable persons long resident in the neighbourhood.

The living is a vicarage, within the archdeaconry and diocese of Hereford, in the patronage of the Dean of Hereford. The present much esteemed vicar is the Rev. F. Baker, proverbial for his great kindness to the poor, and a staunch supporter of the old English game of cricket, in which he is a great proficient.

The mortality recorded in the church-yard shows,—That 122 male persons lived, together, 6233 years, averaging at all ages, 51 years, 1 month, and 2 days.

That 101 females lived, together, 5003 years, averaging 49 years, 6 months, and 12 days.

That the 223 persons, taken together, lived 11,236 years, and averaged 50 years, 4 months, 18 days.

That out of this number 84 males lived, together, 4307 years, and 84 females lived 4107 years, showing an excess of 207 years in favour of the males.

Rejecting the deaths under 20 years of age, 104 males lived, together, 6110 years, and averaged 58 years, 9 months.

And 87 females lived, together, 4914 years, averaging 56 years, 1 month, 3 days.

The 191 persons (of 20 years and upwards) lived, to-

gether, 11,024 years, averaging 57 years, 2 months, 9 days.

The ages of the six oldest males were, respectively, 85, 87, 87, 88, 89, 90; total, 526 years.

The ages of the six oldest women were, respectively, 84, 85, 87, 88, 88, 88; total, 520 years.

EPITAPHS.

John Price, died 1800, aged 67.

Beneath this stone lies buried here,
A tender husband and a father dear,
He is gone awhile before a debt to pay,
Pray God "prepare us all for that great day."

Elizth. Berrow, died 1762, aged 54.

When God cuts off the thread of life,
Then fatal Death parts Man and Wife,
Prepare betimes, since 'tis unknown,
How soon the case may be your own.

Elizabeth Bennett, died 1847, æt. 20.

My race was run so far you see,
This world was not a place for me,
My time was short, my grief the less,
Blame not my haste to happiness.

Ja^s. Watkins, died 1814, aged 73.

Father farewell! in peaceful slumbers rest,
In Heaven we trust to meet among the blest;
Though Nature bids us now regret thee here,
Yet Faith and Hope wipe off affection's tear.

Richard Matty, died 1830, æt. 84.

From the refining fire, His practised hand,
To shapeless metal form and temper gave,
So waked to life, dear Lord, by thy command,
Our flesh shall rise immortal from the grave.

James Beavan, died 1826, æt. 64.

May all attend the solemn call;
The Silent Grave waits for us all.

James Pritchard, died 1789, æt. 55.

We at thy mighty call, O Lord,
An Earthly dwelling leave;

Roused from the flattering Dream of Life,
To sleep within the grave.

Mary Ann Powell, died 1824, æt. 35.

Death hath his warrant signed,
His garden for to search,
He found the loving Mother,
But left the tender plants.
God called her Soul from hence
'Tis certain, true,
To-morrow he may call for me and you.

Ann Jones, died 1714, aged 4 yrs. 2 ms.

It was my happy lot early to quit this scene,
Ere sin did me defile or stain my spotless fame;
Sweet blossoms fade and fall so drooped my tender bloom,
So grieve not at my fall, nor think me gone to soon.

Alice Sayce, died 1843, æt. 52.

Thou wast too good on Earth to live with me,
And I not good enough to die with Thee;
Farewell dear Wife, since God would have it so,
Thou never wilt return, but I to thee may go.

John Kennard, died 1810, æt. 71.

This Stone is out of true respect,
To Him we loved we here erect,
Whose life we prized and death lament,
But yet must learn to be content,
In hope to gain that happy shore,
Where we shall meet to part no more.

JAMES HENRY JAMES.

Middle Temple, Dec. 1861.

DRUIDISM.

CHAPTER X.

DOCTRINE.—GOD.

WE will now give an outline of the peculiar tenets of the ancient Druids, as they were preserved in memory, and orally handed down to the time alluded to, that is, to the fifteenth century, when they began to be committed to writing, and collected in books.

GOD.

The Druids had several names for the Great Being, each denoting some distinctive attribute, which they considered as essential to Him. The following are some of them :—

Addon, Seed; derivation, because He contained in Himself the seed or beginning of everything; or because He was an eternal and infinite essence.

Aesar } Preserver; defender; shield-bearer. From aes, a shield.
Aesor }

Ammon, Without beginning. "There is no origin but He who is without origin (Ammon) namely, God."¹—*Adage*.

Antraw, (An-traw), Chief guide.

Arglwydd, Ruler.

Beli } A warrior.
Belon }

Celi, Invisible; incomprehensible.

Cun,² Lovely; a leader, or chief.

Dar

Daron } (Dy-ar,) Chief; the supreme; the thunderer.
Daronwy³ }

¹ Nid bon ond *Ammon*, sef Duw.

² KUN is said in the Alcoran to have been the word pronounced by God at the creation.

³ Daron, and Daronwy, seem to have the same meaning as *Taran*, a thunder. *Taran* in a secondary sense signifies *supreme, sovereign*, and in that sense it is to be taken in such expressions as the following:—

Pwyll, pendaran Dyved;

Dynwal, pendaran Gwent.

Procopius mentions three of the names introduced into the register as designations by which the Druids acknowledged the one God:—

"HESUS, TARANIS, BELENUS unus tantummodo Deus.

Unum Deum Dominum universi Druides solum agnoscunt."

De Gothicis, lib. iii.

Deon,⁴ the Just; the Distributor.

Dovydd, Tamer; regulator; a ruler.

Duw (Dy-yw), He is; a Being; Existence.

Dwyv (Dy-wyv), I am.

Eli (Eliv), Infinite flux.

Ener (Ner), Lord of all.

Gwawr (Gwawr Nef), Dawn of day; dawn of heaven.

Gwerthevin,⁵ Supreme Lord.

Hu⁶

Huan } the Supreme; inhabitant of the sun.

Huon⁷ }

Iau, The latest manifestation of the Deity; Mithras.⁸

Ion⁹ (Iawn), A source; the first cause; the upright; the just.

Ior¹ (Gor), the Supreme; lord; the Ancient of Days, or the One of Yore.

Modur, Mover; agitator; the prime mover.

Muner (My-ner), All mighty; ruler. *Muner Nev*, the ruler of heaven.

Nav, Creator.

Ner (Nerth), Mighty power; all mighty; energy.

Nudd (Nudus), Manifest.

⁴ "Thy Name is DEON."—*Davydd Ddu Hiraddug*.

⁵ To God I will weep on that account,

The *supreme* (Gwerthevin) king above.

Ll. P. Moch, 1160–1220.

⁶ The Mussulmans frequently use the Name HU as an appellation for the Deity. It is the same as HESUS mentioned by Procopius.

⁷ "Thy Name is HUON."—*Davydd Ddu Hiraddug*.

Akin with *Hu*, *Huan*, and *Huon*, is *Huenydd*, which is also one of the Names given to the Deity by some of the Bards. Thus Elidir Sais, 1160–1220,

"Locate me, *Doydd Huenydd*."

To God.

⁸ Another and a different meaning is given to this Name in a Bardic fragment, entitled "Disciple and his Master:"—

"*Disciple*.—Why is IAU (here meaning *Yoke*) given as a Name for God?

"*Master*.—Because the *Yoke* (Iau) is the measuring rod of every country and nation in respect of the might of the law, and is in possession of every head of family under the mark of the lord of the territory; and whosoever violates it, is subject to a penalty. Now God is the measuring rod of all truth and all justice, therefore He is a Yoke (iau) on all, and all are under it, and woe to whosoever shall violate it."—*Llanover MS.*

⁹ Thy name is ION.—*D. Ddu Hiraddug*.

¹ God the *supreme* (Ior) of the other Gods;

The creator and governor of them.—*Iolo Goch*.

Perydd } Cause ; the chief cause ; creator.
 Peryf² }
 Por (porth), Supporter ; living.
 Rhen, The general pervader ; a pervading principle.
 Rhi, First parent ; first Being ; father of beings.
 Rhiawdr, Ruler ; superintendent.
 Rhwyf, Commander ; overlooker.

But the true and proper Name of God, which He Himself uttered, was the /I\, according to what is called the alphabet of ten letters ; ◇ I ◇, according to the alphabet of sixteen ; ◇ I V, according to that of eighteen ; ◇ I W, according to that of twenty letters ; or O I W in the letters or characters of the present age. This name is perfect music—music, in virtue of which the universe itself, and all that it contains, joyfully leaped into existence ; wherefore no creature can possibly give it its proper sound, and to try to pronounce it, would be to falsify the name—it is unutterable.³

Those names for the most part are still in use among us. The metrical version of the .Psalms, which was produced by the pen of Edmund Prys, Archdeacon of Merioneth, 1576–1624, abounds with them ; and Sion Cent has introduced many of them, together with some others, into his “ Stanzas on the Names of God,”⁴ thus ;—

Duw in Three, *Duw Celi*, we believe,—*Dav*,⁵ *Eli*,
Dwyv again we greatly praise ;
Gwiwner,⁶ His praise we sing,
Arglwydd Dad,⁷ of great love, I know.
Ener, *Muner*, *Ner*, *Nav*, is He—without falsehood,
 He created every life ;
Cunan, whom nobody perceives ;
Modur, of the world, favourable to the living.
Ior, *Por*, holiest *Iav*, of just works—*Deon*,
 Understanding the hearts,

² *Creator* (peryv) of heaven, make pure my breast.—*Ein. ab Gwalchmai*, 1170–1220.

³ See “ Bardism,” vol. i.

⁴ Apud Iolo MSS. p. 285.

⁵ *Dav* (Da), good.

⁶ “ *Gwiwner*” (Gwiw-ner), worthy power.

⁷ “ *Arglwydd Dad*,” Lord the Father.

Huon, Ion, of best gifts;

Dun, Great *Dovydd*, *Ionawr*,⁸ *Iau*.

Crist, Rhion,⁹ *Davon*,¹ imperishable—Creator,

Of a loving disposition;

Son of Mary, irreproachable virgin,

Pope of the world, causing all things.

*Pannon*² in the song of the Canon—is He called,

We clearly behold Him on our side;

O, I, and W, is He found to be,

OIW always to every soul.

A general tradition seems to have prevailed among several nations of the old world respecting the creative Name of God. In the Alkoran KUN is said to have been the word which the mighty Being uttered when He formed the world. The old inhabitants of India said that OMH was the unutterable Name of God, which He Himself pronounced at the moment of creation. With the Jews it was JEHOVAH,³ written by them with four letters, and this they likewise considered as ineffable. Whenever they observed it in the Holy Scripture, they passed it by in silence, reading the word Adonai in its stead. This general and united opinion makes it much more probable that the Name should have been derived from a common origin, than that the different nations should have borrowed it one from the other, for instance, as some people assert, that the Bards should have borrowed their OIW from the JEHOVAH of the Hebrews.

The Bards considered that the cause of mortality was the “divulging the Name of God, miscounting the Name of God, and unessentializing the Name of God,”⁴ where-

⁸ “*Ionawr*” (*Ion*), that originates; the name by which the first month in the year, or January, is now called.

⁹ “*Rhion*” (*Rhi*), a sire.

¹ “*Davon*,” the same as *Dav*.

² *Παντων*, of all.

³ This is the Tetragrammaton, or word of four letters, mentioned in the “History of Taliesin.” It is called by Josephus *τα ιερα γράμματα*, το φρικτον ὄνομα Θεοῦ—“the sacred letters—the shuddering Name of God.”

⁴ The Roll of Tradition and Chronology, *apud* Iolo MSS. p. 45. There is a certain alliteration in the original words, which cannot be rendered in the translation—*Afrinaw*, *Afrifaw*, and *Afrywian*.

fore they kept it a secret, forbidding all under the obligation of a vow to reveal it to any but members of their own fraternity. To violate this vow was regarded almost as an unpardonable sin. "It is the mystical word of the principal Bards, which it is not lawful to speak nor to utter audibly to any man whatsoever, except to a Bard under the vow of an oath. The letters may be named and exhibited to whomsoever you please, without uttering the vocalization due to them, under the protection of secrecy, though he may not be sworn, but if he should audibly utter them in speech, he shall forfeit his protection, and cannot become a Bard, whether in the world that perishes, or in the other world that will not perish for ever and ever."⁵

It is to this offence that Cynddelw alludes, when he makes the following confession in his "Song to God:"—

"And I in my carousals,
Egregiously unmystify⁶ God."

Sion Cent even alludes to the punishment attached to it in the next world:—

"It is not meet that a godless man,
Who swears, unmystifying God,
Should enter the fair region
Afair in heaven, without being turned back."

The Bards and Druids entertained very pure, lofty, and magnificent ideas of the nature and character of God. This appears to a great extent from the preceding list of Divine titles; but more especially from the positive statements which follow:—

Q.

"What is God?"

A.

"What cannot be otherwise."

Q.

"Why cannot it be otherwise?"

⁵ From the Book of John Bradford, who presided in the chair of Glamorgan, A.D. 1760.

⁶ "Afrinaw," from *Af*, pro *non*, and *Rhinaw*, to endue with mystery.—See *Myv. Arch.* vol. i. p. 249.

A.

"Could it be otherwise, neither life, nor being, nor existence, nor emanation could attach to anything that is or may be known to us.

Q.

"What is God?

A.

"Complete and perfect life, and the utter annihilation of all inanimation and death; nor can anything of the nature of death concur with Him; and full and entire life without cessation and without end is God.

"God is perfect life, which cannot be ended, checked, or enslaved—full of knowledge in virtue of His just essence, in respect of form, passion, and intention, having His origin in Himself, dissociated from every other thing, and not at all participating in evil.

"God is positive good, inasmuch as He is the complete annihilation of all evil; and in Him there cannot be found the nature of the least existence of evil.

"God is positive power, inasmuch as He is the complete annihilation of inability; nor can His power and will be enslaved, because He is all mighty and all good.

"God is positive wisdom and knowledge, inasmuch as He completely annihilates ignorance and folly; therefore nothing whatever can happen that He does not know. And according to these attributes nothing having existence and life can be thought of or perceived, otherwise than as proceeding from God, except natural evil, which is the annihilation of all life and goodness."¹

It was the Druidic belief that there existed but one God—not only one supreme God, but one God of any kind. Therefore when we read of Ceridwen, Ogrwen, and the like, in the works of the Bards, we are not to regard them as gods or goddesses, as many persons regard them, but merely as allegories used by the Bards, with the view of setting forth some facts in nature, or moral truths, which their system contained.

The explanation which is given of Ceridwen in Bardism is as follows:—

"*Disciple*.—What is the parable of Cariadwen?

"*Teacher*.—Cariadwen is the affection of the heart; and when it forms an union, there is obtained *Awen*; from union with God and goodness comes *Awen* from God, and from union with evil and Satan comes *Awen* from the devil."²

How very simple is this solution, and how unlike the

¹ Unpublished MS. in the Llanover Collection.

² Ibid.

inference deduced by the author of *The Mythology and Rites of the British Druids*, who by the violent twisting and torturing of words makes Ceridwen to be a goddess—the same in point of attributes with the Ceres of classical history.

Again, the following explanation is given of Ogrwen :—

“ *Disciple*.—I will address my renowned Teacher. Why is it said that all have come into the world from the Cauldron of Ogrwen ?

“ *Teacher*.—Because it is from the earth that all living things have derived their corporeity, whether men, animals, fishes, birds, or the herbs of the earth. That is to say, every body is earth, and every life is heaven.

“ Why is it said of the Cauldron of Ogrwen, if there be cast into it the food of one man, out of it will be obtained the food of a hundred men ?

“ Because formerly they allegorized the earth under the name of Ogrwen, and thus, the food of one man would be the seed cast into it, which comes out food for a hundred men.”³

This explanation sufficiently illustrates the expressions of Cuhelyn, who writes,—

“ For the venerated song of Ceridwen,
The various seeds (*amhad*) of Ogyrwen,
The various seeds of harmony—the airy-handed eloquence
Of the songster Caw,
Cuhelyn, the elegant Cymric Bard,
Would utterly reject.”⁴

This is the *Amhad*, or *Amlhad*—manifold seeds, referred to in the preceding extract, as the produce of the earth, which, in the language of the Bards, was denoted by the name Ogrwen. Had the Rev. Edw. Davies thus known the Bardic parables, he would not have written as he did, thus :—

“ The reader may recollect a passage of Cuhelyn, a Bard of the sixth or eighth century, which I have already quoted, and which delineates the character of Ceridwen by one impressive epithet. She is styled *Ogyrven Amhad*, the goddess of various seeds. Thus Ceres and Ceridwen unite by a single touch.”⁵

The “ Ode of Ceridwen ”⁶ in like manner becomes clear

³ Ibid.

⁴ Myv. Arch. i. p. 186.

⁵ Mythology and Rites of the British Druids, p. 186.

⁶ Kadeir Keridwen, *apud* Myv. Arch. vol. i. p. 66.

in the face of the parables—it is a song produced by Awen, which Awen also proceeds from the union of the heart's affection with God and goodness.

Ogrwen, or Ogyrven, has moreover another signification, namely, a letter; therefore it is said,

“The three primary Ogyrvens are /|\.”⁷

And,—

“There were sixteen Gogyrvens before the faith in Christ; after that eighteen, then twenty.”⁸

Again,—

“Talhaiarn appointed twenty Gogyrvens.”⁹

It is in this sense that we are to understand these lines in Taliesin:—

“The language¹ of twenty Gogyrvens
Is in Awen.”

We adduce these particulars with the view of showing our readers that certain names such as are found in the compositions of the Bards are not to be taken as indications of polytheism among the Cymry, as some men, who have sought to enlighten the world on the subject of Druidism, would wish to maintain.

But the traditions of Bardism are positive on the point of one God.

“There are three special unities: ONE GOD; one truth; and one point of liberty; and to know these three will lead to felicity.”²

“There are three primeval unities, and more than one of each cannot exist: ONE GOD; one truth; and one point of liberty, and this is where all opposites equiponderate.”³

⁷ Llanover MS.

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ Ibid.

¹ In the version printed in the Myv. Arch. vol. i. p. 34, we have “saith” instead of “iaith,” as here, according to which the passage would be rendered “seven score *Ogyrvens* are there in Awen.”

² The Triads of Ten Numbers; MS.

³ The Triads of Bardism. These may be seen in the original in Edward Williams's Poems, ii. pp. 233, &c. Of the copy from which they are taken he gives the following account:—“The Triads that are here selected are from a manuscript collection, by Llywelyn Sion, a Bard of Glamorgan, about A.D. 1560. Of this manuscript I have a transcript. The original is in the possession of Mr. Richard Bradford, of Bettws, near Bridgend, in Glamorgan. This collection

"There are three infinite ones: place; time; and God; that is, there is neither beginning nor end to one or the other of them."⁴

The Druids designated the habitation of the Deity by the name of "Cylch y Ceugant," or the circle of the inclosing circumference, which, they said, only Himself could traverse.

"There are three circles of existence: *the circle of Ceugant*, where there is nothing but God of living or dead, and none but God can traverse it; the circle of Abred, where all things are by nature derived from death,—this circle has been traversed by man; and the circle of Gwynvyd, where all things spring from life,—this man shall traverse in heaven."⁵

The "circle of Ceugant" is described as the "infinite space," in which are the "manred, or elements, in the extremity of their minuteness, and smallest particles, each atom being alive, inasmuch as God is in every atom, one wholly in it in such a way and place that a greater cannot exist throughout the manifold space of Ceugant."⁶

God is there "one unitedly with glory, not having quality, number, or kind which may be known, but perfect light, perfect love, and perfect power, for the good of every being and life."⁷

The literal meaning of Ceugant is, as we have observed, an inclosing circle, that is, a circle that incloses or comprehends all things. From the place it occupied in the creed of the Druids it came in later times to have the sense of *certain, whole*—nothing could be conceived more *entire* than the Ceugant. It is used in that sense by Llywelyn Prydydd y Moch;—

"Even should I demand of my chief the moon as a gift,
He will *certainly* (yn geugant) give it me."

This secondary meaning bears testimony to the priority and antiquity of the word as regards its primary import, as well as to the doctrine which it involves.

was made from various manuscripts of considerable, and some of very great antiquity." They have been translated into French by M. Pictet, of Geneva.

⁴ Llanover MS.

⁶ Llanover MS.

⁵ The Triads of Bardism.

⁷ Ibid.

CHAPTER XI.

DOCTRINE.—THE CREATION.

WHEN God was about to create the world, He “rushed out of His infinitude,”¹ and thus it was:—

“God pronounced His Name, that is, /I\; and with the word all the worlds and all animations leaped from their origination into being and life, with the shout of joy /I\, thus repeating the Name of God with low, soft, and melodious voice. And its equal cannot be heard, until God shall renovate every existence from the mortality entailed upon it by sin, when God shall revocalize His Name. It was from the vocalization of God’s Name that every song and music, vocal or instrumental, were obtained, and every ecstasy, and every joy, and every life, and every felicity, and every origin and derivation of existence and animation. Nor can mortality ensue except from three things, namely, from divulging the Name of God, miscounting the Name of God, and unessentialising the Name of God. But where and while the Name of God is kept in memory, in respect of mystery, number, and kind, there cannot but be existence, life, knowledge, and felicity, for ever and ever. All animated beings were co-instantaneously made blessed, and God arranged them in their order, that is, in their original state in the circle of Gwynvyd.”²

Further;—

“*Disciple*.—My kind and discreet master, tell me whence the world, all things visible, all things audible, all things that may be felt, and all that may be understood, originated, and from what did they come, and were made?

“*Teacher*.—God the Father made them, by uttering His Name and claiming existence. At the same instant, and co-instantaneously with each other, lo, the world and all that belongs to it, leaped together into existence, with a sublime and melodious shout of joy; as they appear at present, so will they continue during the life of God the Father, who is incapable of dissolution or death.

“*Disciple*.—With what things, as materials, was existence formed for animate and inanimate, such as are seen, heard, felt, understood, perceived, and conceived by the imagination of man?

“*Teacher*.—They were made out of the *Manred*,³ that is, the

¹ Llanover MS.

² Roll of Tradition and Chronology, *apud* Iolo MSS. p. 45.

³ Manred (man-rhed), small or fine particles that run together like sand.

elements in the extremity of their minuteness, and smallest particles, each atom being alive, inasmuch as God was in each atom, one wholly in it, in such a way and place as a greater could not exist throughout the entire space of Ceugant, that is, the infinite expanse. God was also in each particle of the Manred, and in like manner in the whole of them in their conjoined aggregation; wherefore the voice of God is the voice of every particle of the Manred, as far as number and understanding can attach to their numbers and quality; and the voice of every particle is the voice of God; God being in the particle as life, and every particle or atom being in God and His life. And on account of what is thus demonstrated, it is allegorically said that God was born of the Manred, without beginning, without end."⁴

In another place the Manred, out of which everything was made, is thus described:--

"The Manred, that is, the smallest of every small, so that a smaller could not exist, flowing in one sea through all Ceugant, and God being life in it, and in every particle of the Manred; God also moving in it, and changing the condition of the Manred, without undergoing any change in Himself. For life is unchangeable in all its movements, but the condition of what is moved is not the same; wherefore, because God is in every movement, Modur has been used as one of the Names of God, and Modur indicates⁵ the condition of what is moved."⁶

We have here a clear exposition of the origin or etymology of MODUR as one of the Names of the Deity; whilst in the preceding fragment, where mention is made of the "*Manred*" in its "*cymminedd cywngwlm*," or conjoined aggregation, light is thrown upon the phraseology "*Manred gymminedd*," with which Meugant commences the several stanzas of his "*Elegy on Cyn-ddylan*."⁷ It is but an expression borrowed from the Druidic creed, and fancifully used by the Bard, without any immediate connection with the main strain of the poem. Dr. Owen Pugh knew not of the Druidic import of the word *Manred*, which he translates as "of small step or pace," and *Manred gymminedd* as "short-paced

⁴ A fragment of a Bardic Catechism in MS., entitled "a Disciple and his Master."

⁵ The word in the original is not very clear.

⁶ Llanover MS.

⁷ See Myv. Arch. v. i. p. 159. Meugant lived in the sixth century, was a Saint as well as a Bard, being a member of the College of Illtyd, and afterwards of the College of Dyvrig at Caerleon, of which his father Gwyndav the Aged was president.

traveller." So necessary for the proper understanding of the works of the Bards is the knowledge of Bardism !

Here is another extract from the "Discipline of Bardism,"⁸ relative to the materials of the creation :—

"*Disciple.*—With what material did God make all corporal living things ?

"*Teacher.*—With the particles of light, which are smallest of all small, and yet greatest of all great is one particle of light, being no less than matter for every material which can be understood and perceived in the grasp of God's power. And in every particle there is a place of quite an equal magnitude with God, because there is not, nor can there be, less than God in every particle of light. God is in every particle, and yet there is but one number in God ; therefore all light is one, but that is not one of thorough co-existence but what there can be no two in it, nor out of it."

This fragment, also coupled with the fact that HU is one of the names of God, throws wonderful light on the language of Rhys Brydydd, or the Poet, whilst his allusion likewise bears testimony to the existence of the above doctrine in his time, that is, between, 1450 and 1490.

"The *smallest of the small*,
Is HU the mighty, in the world's judgment ;
And he is the greatest, and Lord over us,
We well believe, and our God of mystery :
Light is his course, and swift ;
A *particle of splendor*, bright and fair is his car ;
He is *great* on land and seas,
The *greatest* whom I shall behold—
Greater than the worlds. Let us beware
Of mean indignity, to this great and bountiful Being."⁹

On the utterance of the Divine Name, "the nothing,

⁸ Llanover MS.

⁹ Dr. O. Pugh's Dict., *voce Mymryn*. There is another explanation of the extremes of greatness and smallness ascribed to HU, furnished to us by the Bardic memorials. "HU the Mighty—Jesus, the Son of God,—the least in respect of His worldly greatness, whilst in the flesh, and the greatest in heaven of all visible majesties."—*MS*. Had these documents been known to those who have written on the subject, we should not have witnessed a Davies on the one hand seeking for an explanation of the language of the Bard in the deification of the patriarch Noah, or a Nash on the other hand referring his allusions to dramatic representations. So necessary is a knowledge of Bardism to the proper understanding of the works of the Bards !

which had neither place nor existence, flashes into elementation."¹ It is generally reckoned that there are three elements or first principles:—

"There are three primary elements, out of which proceed all other corporal matter, and vital existence; the first is the calas, out of which come every corporeity and hard substance; calas is the air, out of which, by compression, are derived every corporeity, colour, and form; the second is fire, out of which proceed every motion and change; the third is æther, out of which come God and all life, understanding, and knowledge."²

In the poem entitled "The History of Taliesin," which we have already noticed, the same number of elements is spoken of:—

"Amid the three elements."

According to some Bardic authorities there were five of them, namely, earth, water, firmament, fire, and æther. The first four of the five were dead, until God agitated them by uttering His Name, "when they became alive with the joy of song, and declared their condition." Out of these various constituents of Manred, "the primary form of all the materials, or all the elements,"³ everything was created. God collected them "from the infinite extremities in the circle of Ceugant,"⁴ and collocated them "in proper order and arrangement in the circle of Gwynvyd, as worlds, and lives, and natures, without number, weight, or measure, that any one could conceive or understand but Himself; nor could any besides prepare or collocate them, even if he possessed the imperishable ages of the circle of Ceugant."⁵

There are several allusions in the poetical effusions of the Bards to the doctrine of the Druids relative to the creation—that it took place by means of the utterance of God's Name, and the manifestation of its form.

In the "Stanzas of the Crowned Babe,"⁶ which are

¹ Llanover MS.

² Ibid.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ There are several versions of this composition assigned to various authors, such as Aneurin, Merddin, Gildas, &c. But though the first, bearing the name of Aneurin, might have been written by him, which

ascribed to Aneurin in the sixth century, the following passage occurs :—

“The Crowned Babe on the first day,
Sang a chant in the region of bliss,
 And there was the Awen of Glory from the highest,
 With the SHOUT OF WORLDS, and Adam lived.”

And in comparatively modern times, William Cynwal⁷ thus writes :—

“The Awen from the beginning,
 After the *tone*, was with the Father ;
 Of this He gave—it is in the Roll—
 A portion to virtuous Adam ;
 Afterwards He scattered it like seed,
 As a Bible with its judgment to the people of the world :
 But He gave to some less than to others,
 Of what I indeed possess, and more to others ;
 That is the THREE WORDS,⁸ the principal Cauldron,⁹
 A considerable part—the system of Awen.”

That verse in Job, chapter xxxviii. 7, “when the morning stars sang together, and all the sons of God shouted for joy,” seems to add a certain confirmation to the Bardic view that the world was created by the harmony of God’s Word. And inasmuch as the Mosaic account is not opposed to the idea, it would not be heresy to entertain it.

The whole was created simultaneously—every form and condition, from the meanest worm up to man—all good, and placed in the circle of Gwynvyd, just as they will be when Abred is ended. “Co-instantaneously all living beings were made blessed, and God arranged them in their order, that is in their original state, in the circle of Gwynvyd.”

was also the opinion of the late Iolo Morganwg, the others are evidently of a much later date. Eight of them are printed in the *Iolo MSS.* pp. 265, &c.

⁷ He flourished from about 1560 to 1600.

⁸ The symbol of God’s Name, /I\

⁹ “Pair Pen,” the principal Cauldron, that is, of Ceridwen. Or perhaps, Cauldron and head, the latter word referring to the Druidic maxim—“He who is head let him be a bridge.”

CHAPTER XII.

DOCTRINE.—THE FALL—THE ANGELS—THE RESTORATION OF MAN.

THE FALL.

WE have already seen that it is from three things that death or mortality ensues, namely, from “divulging the Name of God, from miscounting the Name of God, and from unessentialising the Name of God.”¹ The blessed therefore being dissatisfied with their original state, “and aiming to augment Gwynvyd,² made an onset on Ceugant, with a view to divulge all that they might discover there, and to know the mystery, number, and essence of God. But that they could not; and when they would fain return to Gwynvyd, they could not, because mortality kept them back, and then they fell into the circle of Abred.”³

Here is more on this subject from another document :—

“God made all living beings in the circle of Gwynvyd at one breath, but they would fain be gods, and attempted to traverse the Ceugant, which they could not, and thereupon they fell into Annwn,⁴ into communion with death and earth, and it is there that every living possessor of an earthly body has its origin.

“Where is Annwn?

“In the extremities of the circle of Gwynvyd. Living beings knew not how to distinguish evil from good, and therefore they fell into the evil, and went into Abred, which they traverse until they arrive afar in the circle of Gwynvyd.

“What ignorance did they perpetrate?

“They would fain venture into the circle of Ceugant, and on that account they became proud; but they could not traverse it, and therefore they fell into the circle Abred.”⁵

¹ Roll of Tradition and Chronology.

² Gwynvyd (gwyn-byd); White or blessed world; felicity.

³ Abred seems to be compounded of *ab*, from, and *rhed*, a course, and is intended to convey the idea of animal gradation, in which the soul must regularly ascend towards the point of liberty: inchoation; transmigration.—*Roll of Tradition and Chronology*.

⁴ Annwn—Annwnfn, (An-dwnfn). An abyss; a bottomless gulf; the lowest point of existence.

⁵ Llanover MS.

The Druids considered pride as the greatest evil that man could be guilty of, because it "deformed everything, so that the truth cannot be seen, enslaves every freedom, so that one cannot deliver himself from Abred, and makes a lawless attack upon God and His prerogative, so that there can be no justice."⁶

"For three reasons must man unavoidably fall into Abred, though he has in everything else attached himself to good: *pride*, for which he falls down to *Anwnn*; falsehood, to a point of corresponding demerit;⁷ and cruelty, to a state of corresponding bestialism;⁸ whence, as at first, he returns to the state of humanity."⁹

This evil, therefore, was the cause of man's original fall; and in respect of this matter the views of the Druids were remarkably conformable to the history which Moses has given in the beginning of Genesis.

There is one word in the Cymric tongue, generally spoken, which exhibits in itself a clear idea of the old doctrine of transmigration. The word *advyd*¹ is used by us to denote adversity: but what connection has that with beginning the world anew? Nothing, according to our present mode of thinking. But when we look upon man being sent, as a punishment for his sin, to re-traverse the circle of Abred, the primary meaning of *advyd* in connection with adversity becomes sufficiently apparent. "In the course of Abred, they could not attain, behold, or know God; then the blessed, who retained their condition by keeping God and His Name and truth in memory, perceived the state of Abred, and called it by the name of *ADVYD*; because God made it as His second work for the purpose of saving the disobedient from the perdition to which they had rushed."²

⁶ Llanover MSS.

⁷ Cymrice, *Obryn*; perhaps from *ob*, a going out of, and *rhyn*, sensation: that is, a point at which the same feeling begins to break out.

⁸ Cymrice, *Cydvil* (Cyd-mil), co-animal.

⁹ The Triads of Bardism, *apud* Edw. Williams's *Lyrical Poems*, vol. ii.

¹ *Advyd* (Ad-byd), re-world; commencement of the world anew.

² Roll of Tradition and Chronology.

THE ANGELS.

It appears from what is said of "the blessed who retained their condition," in the above extract, that the Druids were of opinion that those who were originally arranged in the circle of Gwynvyd did not all fall. Indeed the same view is positively maintained in the catechetical fragment which follows:—

"Did all fall into Abred through pride, who had attained the circle of Gwynvyd after the primary and necessary traversing from Annwn?"

"No; some sought wisdom, and thereby beheld what pride would do, and they resolved to act according to what had been taught them by God. Hence they became Divinities, that is, holy angels, and they obtained learning from what they beheld in others. And from that they beheld the condition of Ceugant, and eternity, and that God only could endure and traverse it."³

THE RESTORATION OF MAN.

The point of liberty is the state of humanity; and when this is attained every man has the power to choose good or evil, and according as the good or evil preponderates at the moment of his death, his soul is taken into Gwynvyd, or else is sent back to inhabit a body corresponding to his character in Abred. When the soul has fallen into Abred, it may rise again from step to step until it reaches the state of humanity; and then if it chooses not the good, it falls again. And how many times soever it may fall, it will finally reach the Gwynvyd; and this will be the case with every living being, so that none will be lost for ever.

We meet with the following statements on the subject in "The Book of Bardism,"⁴ which has been compiled out of the old Books of Taliesin, Johannes Menevensis, Einion the Priest, Edeyrn the Golden-tongued, Cwmta Cyvarwydd, Davydd Ddu Hiraddug, Sion Kent, Rhys Goch, and others:—

"Dost thou believe that every living being will reach the circle of Gwynvyd at last?"

"That is my belief, because less than the same cannot proceed from the infinite love of God, God being able to cause it, and knowing the

³ Llanover MSS.

⁴ MS.

mode of causing it, and continually willing everything that may be thought of and sought in His own love, and in the desire of all living beings as opposed to evil and death.

"When will this state of things happen to all living beings, and in what manner will be the end of the life of Abred?"

"Everything animate and animated will traverse the circle of Abred from the depth of Annwn, that is, the extremity of what is low in every existence endued with life, and will ascend from Annwn higher and higher in the order and gradations of life, until it becomes man, when Abred may be ended by his attaching himself to good. And at death⁵ he will go into the circle of Gwynvyd, when the Abred of necessity will be at an end for ever.

"Will every man enter into the circle of Gwynvyd, or heaven, when he dies?"

"No one will go into Gwynvyd at death⁵ but he who clings in life, whilst he is a man, to good and godliness, and all acts of wisdom, and justice, and love. And where these qualities preponderate over their opposites, namely, folly, injustice, and disaffection, and all evil and ungodliness, the man, when he dies, will go into Gwynvyd, or heaven, from whence he will no more fall into Abred, because good prevails over evil of every kind, and the living conquers the dead, prevailing over it for ever. He will ascend nearer and nearer to perfect felicity, until he is at its extremities; and there he will abide for ever and ever. But the man who clings not thus to what is godly, will fall in Abred into a corresponding form and kind of existence, of the same nature with himself, from whence he will traverse back to the state of man as before. And then according as he attaches himself to either godliness or ungodliness, he will rise to Gwynvyd, or fall into Abred when he dies. And thus he will always fall, until he seeks godliness, and attaches himself to it. And then there will be an end of the Abred of necessity, and every necessary suffering from evil and death."

⁵ The word here used is *angau*, which literally means *deliverances*, or *escapes*, with reference to the passage of the soul, when the body dies, to a higher state of existence.

CHAPTER XIII.

DOCTRINE.—THE CIRCLES.

WE have already in some degree noticed the doctrine of the circles; but inasmuch as this is the very soul of Druidism, it would not be improper that we should in this place give a clearer and more methodical account of it. There are three circles, which are thus described:—

“There are three circles of existence: the circle of Ceugant, where there is nothing but God of living or dead, and none but God can traverse it; the circle of Abred, where all things are by nature derived from death,—this circle has been traversed by man; and the circle of Gwynvyd, where all things spring from life,—this man shall traverse in heaven.”¹

THE CIRCLE OF CEUGANT.

This is the vast, eternal, and boundless space, the special abode of the Deity Himself. In this He always was “one unitedly with glory, not having mystery, number, or essence, that could be known, except perfect light, perfect love, and perfect power.”² And there He will always be perfectly happy and glorious, never wearied of the duration of eternity, which, without variety and novelty (nevoedd), no creature can bear.

“Three things none but God can do: to endure the eternities of Ceugant; to participate of every state of existence without changing; and to reform and renovate everything without causing the loss of it.”³

The blessed, or inhabitants of Gwynvyd, attempted to augment their felicity by making an onset on Ceugant, but inasmuch as they were unable to traverse it, death laid hold of them, and turned them back.

Before God pronounced His Name, and conferred being and life upon the creation, there was but one circle of existence, which was the circle of Ceugant.

THE CIRCLE OF GWYNVYD.

It appears that God, by the utterance of His Name, created every form and kind, from the meanest worm up

¹ The Triads of Bardism.

² Roll of Tradition and Chronology.

³ The Triads of Bardism.

to man, at once, and arranged them in the circle of Gwynvyd; that is, He made them all happy in their several degrees. "Co-instantaneously all living beings were made blessed, and God placed them in their order, that is, in their original state in the circle of Gwynvyd."⁴ Thus the circle of Gwynvyd was not a place, but a condition. The soul ascended from one bodily form to another until it reached humanity, but having reached it, and attained the power of choosing and judging for itself, in the case of many men, the power was abused, and God sent them back into Annwn—into Advyd—to recommence their lives. Abred now comes into existence. But through this Abred the soul might rise by degrees on the death of one creature after another, and ascend a second time to the state of humanity, that is to the point of liberty, where it might again choose the good or evil. If it attached itself to the good, it went on the death of the body to the circle of Gwynvyd, whence it could not fall, and there it continued for ever. "And there will be no traversing of every form of existence after that, except by the right of liberty and choice, in union with felicity, for the sake of re-experiencing and re-seeking knowledge. And this will last for ever, as a variety and newness of Gwynvyd, so that there can be no fall into Ceugant, and thence into Abred, because God only can endure and traverse the circle of Ceugant. And by this it is seen that there is no Gwynvyd without associating one's self with, and renewing proof and experience and knowledge, for it is in knowledge that life and felicity consist."⁵

The bliss of those who shall reach the Gwynvyd, will consist in a great measure in the knowledge which they acquired, whilst they passed through the various forms of God's creation.

⁴ Roll of Tradition and Chronology.

⁵ The "Book of Bardism," compiled by Llywelyn Sion from the Book of Taliesin, Johannes Menevensis, Einion the Priest, Edeyrn the Golden-tongued, Cwta Cyfarwydd, Davydd Ddu Hiraddug, Sion Kent, Rhys Goch, and others. This curious document, which is in the form of Questions and Answers, has never yet been published.

"There can be no Gwynvyd without seeing and knowing everything; and there can be no seeing and knowing everything, without enduring everything; and there can be no complete and perfect love but that it produces the necessary things for leading towards the full knowledge of every form of existence, and every evil and good; nor can this knowledge be acquired, except from experience in every form of life, in every accident, in every suffering, in every evil, and in every good, so that one thing may be known from the other. And all this must ensue before there can be Gwynvyd, and there is need of them all before there can be perfect love in God, and there must be perfect love, before there can be Gwynvyd.

"Why is there need of the things that thou hast mentioned before there can be Gwynvyd?

"Because there can be no Gwynvyd without victory over evil and death, and over every opposition and Cythraul;⁶ and there can be no victory over them, without knowing their kind, their nature, their strength, their operations, their place, their time, and every form and kind of existence which they have, that all respecting them may be known, and that they may be avoided, and, where they are, that their kind, might, and being may be opposed; and that one may get better of them, and be restored from their causation. And when there is this perfect knowledge, there is perfect liberty; and there can be no opposition to and victory over evil and death, but where there is perfect liberty, nor can God and His might be except in perfect liberty, and Gwynvyd cannot exist except with God in perfect liberty, and it is in perfect liberty that the circle of Gwynvyd is.

"Why cannot perfect knowledge be acquired without traversing every form of life in Abred?

"On this account, because every two forms are not the same, and to every form there is a cause, and a suffering, and a knowledge, and an understanding, and a felicity, and a condition, and operations, and an impulse, the like and equal of which cannot be had in any other form of existence. And since there is a special knowledge in every form of existence, which cannot be had in any other, there is a necessity for undergoing every form of existence before every form and kind of knowledge, and consequently the rejection of every evil, and adherence to every bliss, can be obtained."⁷

We are not sufficiently acquainted with the character of the pristine Gwynvyd. According to the above doctrine it was necessary that man should have traversed every form of existence before he could attain the knowledge essential to Gwynvyd. And yet it is said that Menw heard the three shouts—the vocalization of the

⁶ Cythraul (Cyd-traul) co-waste; consumption; explained further on.

⁷ The Book of Bardism.

creative Name of God ; how may this be reconciled with what is stated above ? either the nature of the primary Gwynvyd was very different to that which followed the fall, or else God must have caused the soul of the first man to pass through every form in the twinkling of an eye. Granting that every form in existence was simultaneously created, we may explain the reason why the original Gwynvydolion⁸ were more capable of falling than those which attained Gwynvyd subsequently to the arrangement of Advyd, on the supposition that they had not the advantage of experience which the latter had. That final safety is owing to this experience may be inferred from the "Roll of Tradition and Chronology."

"God of His infinite love brought the Abredolion⁹ through the circle of all possible evils, for the purpose of showing their existence, that they might be known, and kept out of, and avoided, after the deliverance ; and that in the state of humanity they might supplicate God, and there-upon know and recollect goodness, justice, and love ; and then know by re-perception the primitive truths ; that by retaining them in memory, and adhering to them, they might, after the release of death, partake of the pristine Gwynvyd, where there cannot but be a recollection of what they had been there formerly, and of the evils which befell them whilst they traversed Abred."

The following extract is positive on the subject :—

"Is not the danger of falling into Abred from the circle of Gwynvyd the same now as it was formerly ?

"No ; because the mastery is obtained over all pride and every other sin, before the circle of Gwynvyd can a second time be attained ; and then by recollecting and knowing the evil that previously existed, everyone will of necessity utterly abhor what caused him before to fall, and what is necessarily hated or loved will continue and last for ever in the circle of Gwynvyd, where the three strong things, hatred, love, and knowledge, will be endless."¹

The Druids entertained the belief that the Gwynvydolion changed their condition from time to time, which circumstance they considered as a part of the variety of their felicity.

"In three things man unavoidably differs from God : man is finite,

⁸ The blessed, or those who enjoy Gwynvyd.

⁹ Those who are passing through Abred, or are in a state of transmigration.

¹ Llanover MS.

which God cannot be; man had a beginning, which God could not have; man not being able to endure the eternity of Ceugant, must have in the circle of Gwynvyd a rotatory change of his mode of existence; God is under no such necessity, being able to endure all things, and that consistent with felicity."²

"The three excellencies of changing mode of existence in Gwynvyd: acquisition of knowledge; beautiful variety; and repose, from not being able to endure Ceugant and eternity."³

Even now the occupants of Gwynvyd appear occasionally in human form, and teach heavenly things to the inhabitants of earth; such are the Bards who possess Awen from God, and the prophets. It was this opinion no doubt that made Cynddelw⁴ in his stanzas to Madog, son of Meredydd, say,—

"The event—

Nobody knows, except God, the prophets of the world,
And diligent Druids,"⁵

clearly intimating that the knowledge which these possessed was supernatural.

But when Abred is ended, and all forms of existence have been thoroughly purified from iniquity, they will be taken possession of by the Gwynvydolion one after the other in order to vary and innovate eternity. And all these forms will, one with the other, be equally perfect, dignified, and happy under the protection of the Creator. Peace, love, and benignity will pervade all the creation, and the benign affections of the body and mind will continue for ever, contributing to the joy of the circle of Gwynvyd.

THE CIRCLE OF ABRED.

The circle of Abred did not exist until the Gwynvydolion made an onset on the circle of Ceugant. It was then that the men who sinned were sent back to the meanest *pryv*⁶ (priv, primus) or worm in creation, in order to

² The Triads of Bardism.

³ Ibid.

⁴ A.D. 1150–1200.

⁵ Myv. Arch. vol. i. p. 212. See also Dr. Pughe's *Dictionary*, voce "Derwydd."

⁶ It would seem as if the worm got the name *pryv* from its being considered as in the lowest series of God's living creatures. Originally *pryv*, a worm, was written *priv*, which means a *source*, *prime*, *first*.

recommence their lives—to Advyd, or ANNWN—of which we are thus taught:—

“Where is Annwn?

“In the place where is the least possible of living and life, and the most of death, without any diversified condition.

“What are the characteristics of life?

“The lightness of light, heat and uncorruptness, that is, unchangeableness.

“What are the special marks of death?

“The heaviness of cold, darkness, and corruption, that is, changeableness.

“In what consists the nature of death and mortality?

“In its characteristics, one being the cause of the death of the other, as heaviness is the cause of darkness, and both are the cause of corruption, and corruption is the cause of both.

“In what consists the necessity of living and life?

“In its characteristics, that is, brightness and light, and lightness, and incorruption, one being the cause of the other; hence God and life.”⁷

Of the origin of man, or his elevation from Annwn through the several gradations of Abred, we are informed in the “Book of Bardism” as follows:—

“Pray, who art thou? and tell me thy history.

“I am a man in virtue of God’s will, and the necessary issue that follows, for ‘what God wills must be.’

“From whence hast thou come, and what is thy origin?

“I came from the great world, and my origin was in Annwn.

“Where art thou now; and how camest thou into the place thou art?

“I am in the little world, whither I have come by traversing the circle of Abred, and now am a man on its limits and extremities.

“What wert thou before thou becamest a man in the circle of Abred?

“In Annwn I was the smallest possible thing in which life could exist, and the nearest possible to positive death; and in every form, and through every form capable of corporeity and life I came unto the state of man and the little world in Abred, where my condition was severe and grievous during the age of ages, since I was parted from death in Annwn by the hand of God and His great generosity, and infinite and endless love.

“Through how many forms didst thou come, and what happened to thee?

“Through every form capable of life, in water, in earth, in firmament. And what happened to me has been every severity, every

hardship, every evil, and every suffering; and but little was the good and felicity before I became a man."

Iorwerth Vynnglwyd, 1460-1500, refers clearly to the Bardic doctrine respecting the great world and the little world, where he says,—

"Saith the revered Bardism,

A little world is man in his vigour under the sun."

Taliesin in the sixth century has two poems, one on "the great world,"⁸ in which he speaks of the creation of man, the air, the planets, and the divisions of the earth,—the other on "the little world,"⁹ in which he speaks of the supporting of the world after it was created. The creation in the former refers to the great world out of which everything was formed, or derived its existence, and the sustentation in the latter has regard to the little world which proceeded from it. Thus the doctrine of the Druids was no doubt in Taliesin's mind when he composed the poems in question.

But to proceed. Here are some additional illustrations of Abred :—

"In every state and point of Abred below humanity all living beings are necessarily evil, and necessarily bound to evil from utter want of will and power, which attaches to their uttermost desire and ability. And on this account, according as they are in Abred, whether the point be high or low, God does not hate or punish them, but loves and cherishes them, because they cannot be different, and because they are bound, not having a will and choice of their own; and how great soever may the evil be, they cannot help it, because it is from obligation and not consent that they are so.

"After coming to the point of humanity in Abred, where the good and evil equiponderate, man is free from every obligation, since good and evil do not oppress each other, nor does either preponderate over the other. Therefore the state of man is a state of consent, and freedom, and ability; and every act proceeds from project and selection, consent and choice, and not from obligation and dislike, necessity and inability. On that account man is a living being endued with judgment, and judgment will be awarded to him in respect of what he does, for he will be good or evil according to what he does, since he can do differently to what he does, therefore he justly merits a reward or punishment according to the requirements of his works."¹

⁸ Myv. Arch. v. i. p. 25.

⁹ Ibid p. 26.

¹ The Druidism of the Bards of the Isle of Britain.—MS.

The transmigration of the soul is instrumental, under the dispensation of Divine Providence, in purifying it from evil, and in causing the good thus finally to prevail over the evil, and utterly subdue it.

"Three things increase continually : fire, or light ; understanding, or truth ; soul, or life : these will prevail over everything else, and then Abred will cease.

"Three things dwindle away continually : the dark ; the false ; and the dead.

"Three things accumulate strength continually, there being a majority of desires towards them : love ; knowledge ; and justice.

"Three things become more and more enfeebled daily, there being a majority of desires in opposition to them : hatred ; injustice ; and ignorance."²

CHAPTER XIV.

DOCTRINE.—THE DEVIL—DEATH—THE SOUL.

CYTHRAUL.

THIS word is still used by the Cymry to denote the devil, or Satan, but it did not originally mean quite the same thing as it does at present. In the Bardic creed it was looked upon as a principle, rather than a person—Cyd-traul, the principle of destruction, a thing totally opposed to God and all goodness.

"A Cythraul is destitute of life and intention—a thing of necessity, not of will, without being, or life, in respect of existence and personality ; but vacant in reference to what is vacant, dead in reference to what is dead, and nothing in reference to what is nothing. Whereas God is good with reference to what is good, is fullness in reference to fullness, life in life, all in all, and light in light."¹

"There can be no existence from a primitive condition, except God and Cythraul, the living and the dead, nothing and event, issue from non-issue, and being from mutual union."²

The Cythraul, together with every other evil, shall be subdued and annihilated at last ; and even now by the

² The Triads of Bardism.

¹ The Druidism of the Bards of the Isle of Britain.

² Ibid.

process of transmigration, or the operation of Abred, its power is becoming more enfeebled every day.

"The three necessary occasions of Abred: to collect the materials and properties of every nature; to collect the knowledge of everything; and to collect power towards subduing the adverse and CYTHRAUL, and for the divesting of evil; without this traversing every mode of animated existence, no state of animation, or of anything in nature, can attain to plenitude."³

"The three instrumentalities of God in Abred towards subduing evil and CYTHRAUL, and escaping therefrom to Gwynvyd: necessity; loss of memory; and death."⁴

ANGAU AND MARWOLAETH.

Both these words are taken now indiscriminately to denote *death*; but there is a difference between them in the system of the Bards. The meaning of ANGAU is liberations; the word being but the plural of *Ang*, liberation; and that in reference to the gradations of the circle of Abred. When any creature died, the soul was considered as being set at liberty to go and dwell in a more excellent body. Therefore ANGAU was one of the instrumentalities of God "towards subduing evil and Cythraul, and escaping therefrom to Gwynvyd."⁵ It was also called "the escape of Angau from evil and Cythraul." There are three "causes of death," which are thus described in some old Bardic documents:—

"The three causes of Angau in the hands of God: to better the condition in Abred; to renovate life for the purpose of repose from the non-endurance of Ceugant; and to have experience of every state of living and life, and of what naturally and incidentally belongs thereto; that is, for the purpose of collecting the different kinds of sciences, and consequently obtaining full and perfect knowledge of every living and being, and of every quality and existence. Since that cannot otherwise take place than by traversing Abred, one is thus able to learn and to know all the sciences naturally and of necessity; and without them it is impossible to bear with the circle of Gwynvyd."⁶

Thus the word ANGAU in itself not only indicates the existence of a soul, but its existence apart from the body—life beyond the grave. Our Druidic ancestors were in this respect very unlike the Sadducees among the

³ The Triads of Bardism.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ Unpublished MS.

Jews of old, who said "that there is no resurrection, neither angel, nor spirit."⁷

It is remarkable that life and death, or birth and death, are derived from the same root, and that both signify liberation; for ENGI, to be born, comes from ANG, the root of ANGAU.

The word MARWOLAETH, or MARW⁸ however, has a different meaning, denoting the deprivation of life; and the word is applied to the body of man, or any other creature only. MARW is the lack of life, and as life progresses, Marw is diminished; and ultimately it will cease altogether.

"Three things dwindle away continually: the dark; the false; and MARW."⁹

The positive or absolute Marw is now below Annwn, which is the nearest point to it, where life commences in its lowest degree and form.

THE SOUL.

The word in the original is ENAID, the root of which is EN, that is ENS, existence, spirit, life. "Enaid, that is life."¹

"What is Enaid?

"The breath of God in a carnal body."²

"The five commons of all things: earth, water, air, fire, and ENAID; and God is the *Enaid*, from Whom proceeds all life."³

These sentiments are very near the Holy Scriptures, where we read, "God breathed into his nostrils the breath of life; and man became a living ENAID."⁴

The particular seat of the Enaid or soul in the body, as well as its form and appearance, was confessedly unknown to the Bard Taliesin, for we find him thus expressing his wonderment on those points:—

"I wonder that in books,
They know not with certainty,

⁷ Acts xxiii. 8.

⁸ The root of *Marw* is *Mar*, what is active, or flitting. The final *w* gives it, as usual, a contrary import.

⁹ The Triads of Bardism.

¹ MS.

² MS.

³ MS.

⁴ Gen. ii. 7.

Where the seat of *Enaid* is ;
What the appearance of its members.”⁵

Neither have we met with any explanations of these matters in the works of other Bards. Nevertheless, Iolo Morganwg undertakes to describe the nature of the soul, from some information peculiar to himself, after the following manner :—

“The soul is an inconceivably minute particle of the most refined matter, is necessarily endued with life, and never dies ; but at the dissolution of one body it passes into another higher or lower in the scale of existence, where it expands itself into that form and corporeity, which its acquired propensities necessarily give it, or of that animal (with whose body it becomes clothed) wherein only such propensities can possibly reside naturally.”⁶

CHAPTER XV.

DOCTRINE.—SACRIFICE.

THE question has been asked a hundred times, without yet having received a satisfactory answer, “Did the Druids offer sacrifices ? and if they did, what was the nature and character of their sacrifices ?” What say the traditions on this head ? As follows :—

“The three licenses of a Bard : his five free acres ; his **ABERTHGED**¹ (or sacrifice contribution) ; and his tax contribution.

“The three common **ABERTHGEDS** of the Bards : one is milk contribution, given at the Alban Hevin ;² the second is meal contribution, at the Alban Elved ;³ the third is honey contribution, given at the Alban Arthan ;⁴ and portions each of the three at the Alban Eilir,⁵ that is, when the new songs are privileged. And the poor, aliens, and strangers, shall have their portions from the three **ABERTHGEDS** at those times, because they have no due claim to land or goods.”⁶

It appears from this place that the Aberthgeds were a kind of oblations made to the Bards at their principal festivals, similar to “the accustomed offerings” which are occasionally paid to the ministers of the Church. But

⁵ Myv. Arch. v. i. p. 24.

⁶ Lyric Poems, vol. ii. p. 201.

¹ Aberthged (Aberth-ced) sacrifice contribution ; or what is sacrificially contributed ; a sacred gift.

² The summer solstice.

³ The autumnal equinox.

⁴ The winter solstice.

⁵ The vernal equinox.

⁶ The Triads of Privilege and Usage. An Unpublished MS.

though the Bards or Druids did thus after a manner "live of the things of the temple," and were "partakers with the altar,"⁷ yet there were some things, which constituted a sacrifice, of an ornamental character only, as we may see in the following extracts:—

"The ABERTH of the festival of Alban Elved: . . . a wheaten loaf, a cup of honey, milk, and the fruit of trees.

"The Aberth of Alban Arthan: bread, milk diet, mead, and *evergreens*. . . .

"The Aberth of Alban Eilir, flour, milk, mead, and *flowers*. . . .

"The Aberth of Alban Hevin, bread or flour, milk, mead, and *trefoil*."⁸

And we are of opinion that these ornamental things were the ABERTH in the proper sense of the word, since the word is compounded of *a*, intens., and *berth*, fair, pleasant; rich.⁹

It would not be unreasonable to suppose that the "gold, and frankincense, and myrrh" of the Magi, or Druids¹ of the East, were their customary sacrifices, which they offered to Jesus—the DIVINE BARD, Whom they expected, and Who at length made His appearance at the Festival of Alban Arthan. The religious law of the Gentiles, as well as that of the Jews, was, in its primitive nature and tendency, their schoolmaster to bring them to Christ.

There are clear allusions to the Aberthau, or sacrifices of the Bards, in the works of Taliesin; *e. g.*:—

"And Bards with *flowers*,
And superior BERTHEU,
And *primroses* and *small herbs*,
And the *sprigs of trees and shrubs*,
And *contribution and wealth*,
And frequent pledging,
And *wine* that flows to the brim.

⁷ 1 Cor. ix. 13.

⁸ MS.

⁹ "Gwr aberthawg" is an expression frequently used in Welsh to denote a rich man. The oblation of flowers, fruits, and incense was ordained in India about a thousand years before Christ.

¹ In an Irish version of the Gospel of St. Matthew, the phrase "there came wise men from the east" is rendered, "the Druids came from the east." In like manner, in the Old Testament, Exod. vii. 11, the "Magicians of Egypt" are made "Druids of Egypt."

And *honey* and *trefoil*,
And horns flowing with *mead*,
Meet for a sovereign,
Is the gift of the Druids."²

But were there no bloody sacrifices among the ancient Cymry?

"For three reasons may living beings be deprived of life: that is when it kills a man intentionally and of purpose; when it kills a man incidentally, and naturally by chance, as when it destroys growing fruit and herbs which are the food and support of human life; and when it would be better to the one about to be slain that it should be killed than otherwise, that it may be taken out of its agony, or with the view of improving its condition in Abred."³

The last named case, it would appear, is the most like a religious sacrifice of a bloody description. But this does not imply any propitiation for sin, nor does it bring any immediate benefit to the sacrificer. It is the sacrifice or victim itself that receives the particular gain and advantage, inasmuch as it is, in respect of its soul, transferred to a higher and better state of life, though indeed the whole world in a sense will partake ultimately of the benefit, since the act contributes towards the annihilation of Abred. It is probable that it is this consideration which made Iolo Morganwg define the doctrine of animal sacrifices as follows:—

"The sacrifice of animals, which were always those of the least ferocity of disposition, was a religious co-operation with Divine benevolence, by raising such an animal up to the state of HUMANITY, and consequently expediting his progress towards felicity."⁴

The same tendency, that is, to bring Abred to an end, is observable in many of the transactions of life, and events of Providence.

"The three things that expedite the end of Abred: sicknesses; mutual slaughter; and becoming Enaidvaddeu⁵ in justice, reason, and necessity, arising from doing good. For without them there would be no means of liberating oneself from Abred, but at a much later period; and here we see that it is out of benefit and mercy to living

² The Chair of Taliesin, *apud* Myv. Arch. vol. i.

³ The Triads of Bardism and Usages.

⁴ Lyric Poems, vol. ii.

⁵ See more about this point in Chapter V.

beings that God caused the mutual slaughter and fighting that prevail among them.”⁶

With regard to man, however, the act of another taking away his life, or of himself delivering it up under special circumstances, partakes in some degree of a propitiatory satisfaction for sin. Thus, if a man dies a natural death, who has been guilty of some injurious evil, he falls back to a corresponding state in Abred; but should he be put to death by the verdict of country and law as a punishment for such evil, he does not descend below the state and condition of man.

This punishment in itself seems as if it were equivalent to the degradation in Abred, and so far is an atonement for sin. If a man, who has done an injurious evil, gives himself up voluntarily to receive the punishment of death, he ascends in the circle of Gwynvyd. In like manner, but in a higher degree, does a good man, who lays down his life for truth and justice. Such a death is called ENAIDVADDEU; and the three modes are described in the “Triads of Bardism and Usages” as follows:—

“In three ways a man may become Enaidvaddeu. One is, when due punishment by the verdict of country and law is inflicted upon him for an injurious evil,—an injurious evil being killing and burning, murder and ambuscade, and the betrayal of country and nation; that is, he who commits these evils ought to be executed; and every execution is to be determined either by the judgment of a court of law, or in war by the verdict of country and nation. The second is, when a man surrenders himself to execution at the demand of justice, of which he is conscious, for any injurious and punishable evil which he says he committed, and where he cannot render other compensation and atonement for the injury he has done than by undergoing voluntarily what is due to him for what he has done. The third is, when a man enters the dangers and hazard of an execution in behalf of truth and justice, for the sake of peace and mercy, and is put to death. This is considered as killing him for the good he has done; and therefore he rises in the circle of Gywnvyd. And in any other than these three ways, a man may not be adjudged by man as Enaidvaddeu; for God only knows how to adjudge what is different. The first of them will cling in Abred in the state and condition of man, without falling below that, and the other two will ascend in the circle of Gwynvyd.”

⁶ The Triads of Bardism and Usages.

THE FAMILY OF WHITE, PEMBROKESHIRE.

THE Whites were a family of opulence, as merchants, at Tenby, in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries; an ancestor of them was Jasperly White, who lived about the year 1265.

In 1415 John White was one of the bailiffs of Tenby, and in 1420 mayor; during the following eighty years of this century, the civic chair was filled thirty years by a member of this family.—(*Archæologia Cambrensis*, 1853, p. 114.) A pedigree of the family is given in Lewis Dwnn's *Heraldic Visitations*, i. pp. 129, 30.

During the mayoralty of Thomas White, A.D. 1457, Jasper, Earl of Pembroke, granted his permission and assistance towards rebuilding the town walls of Tenby, which were ordered to be made six feet broad in every part, so that there might be a walk round them for the purposes of defence. This will probably account for the succession of arches built against the inner side of the walls, on the top of which the walk was evidently constructed. A *fac-simile* of the original deed granted by the Earl of Pembroke, and plates of the mansion-house and tombs of the Whites, were given in the *Etchings of Tenby*, by the late Mr. Norris.

Henry VII. was greatly attached to this family for services rendered to him when he was obliged to fly the realm, and from the fact that several of them lost their lives in his cause. It was through their aid, in the reign of Edward IV., after the battle of Tewkesbury, that the young Earl of Richmond, with his mother, and Jasper, Earl of Pembroke, were enabled to escape from Pembroke Castle to Tenby, where they were concealed, and hospitably entertained, by Thomas White, a wealthy wine merchant, and mayor of the town, who afterwards sent them to Brittany in one of his vessels, accompanied by two of his sons. Thomas White died on the 8th of May, 1482.

After the accession of Henry VII. to the throne, he re-

warded the son of his strenuous adherent and great benefactor with a lease of all the crown lands about Tenby; "a good recompense," to use the words of George Owen, the historian of Pembrokeshire in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, "done to one man for a good deede done to the whole realme."

Part of the family, at an earlier date, settled in Ireland. Nicholas White, with others of Pembrokeshire descent, were jurors in Wexford, *anno* 1307, in the inquisition on the lands of Joan, Countess of Pembroke, and also on the death of her son, the famous Aymer de Valence.

In the early part of the seventeenth century, branches of this family were settled, as merchants, in London and Bristol. George White, of Bristol (1609), is mentioned by Lewis Dwnn.

After the commerce of Tenby declined, branches of the family settled at Henllan, Studdock, and Bangeston, on the banks of Milford Haven, and became men of great landed property, ranking for several generations with the first gentry of the county.

Fenton states there have been more sheriffs of this family, and that of Rees, than any other in Pembrokeshire.

The only members of this family remaining in Wales are those descended from the Studdock branch; the present Mr. George White, of Tenby, being a great-grandson of Frank White, born at Studdock in 1698, who was nephew of Henry White, Esq., of Henllan, whose only child, Elizabeth, married, *first*, Thomas Lort, Esq.; *secondly*, Lord Bulkley; *thirdly*, Brigadier Ferrars; and, *lastly*, Mr. Hooke, and died without issue in 1752.

It is a remarkable circumstance that a descendant of this family should at the present day, after the lapse of more than four centuries, reside on almost the exact spot, occupy the same cellars, and be, like his ancestors, a wine merchant, every link in connection with this interesting historical event being scrupulously preserved by him; for while the arms erected in Pembroke and Carew Castles, in honour of this favourite Prince of the Welsh,

are nearly destroyed, those erected by Henry's protector have been carefully restored, as they originally were, in White's house of old, and now mark the spot that has been hallowed by time as the refuge of a Prince, and the residence of an ancient and loyal family, whose beautiful tombs are upon the south side of the altar steps of the fine old parish church of Tenby.

The name of this family was formerly written in many different ways, as Chweit, Wheitt, Whytt, Whitt, Witt, Whyte, as well as White.

ARMS,—On a shield *sable*, a chevron *or*, between three stags' heads *or*, *temp.* Henry III.

DAVID MORGAN, THE WELSH JACOBITE;

A CONTRIBUTION TO THE HISTORY OF JACOBITISM IN WALES.

BY WILLIAM LLEWELLIN, F.G.S., F.G.H.S., &c., &c.

"Although my lands are fair and wide,
Its here no longer I must bide;
Yet my last hoof, and horn, and hide,
I'll gie to bonnie Charlie.

"Although my heart is unco sair,
And lies fu' lowly in its lair,
Yet the last drap of blude that's there,
I'll gie for bonnie Charlie."

Jacobite Ballad.

ONE of the most romantic and spirit-stirring episodes in English History is that presented to us by the last effort of the partisans of the expelled House of Stuart to place the representative of the exiled family on the throne of his ancestors.

The Rebellion of 1745 has been acknowledged universally to have been remarkable for the interesting incidents, and romantic adventures, to which it gave rise; and the annals of history do not furnish examples of greater personal sacrifices, more exalted heroism, and chivalrous devotion, than were exhibited during that momentous struggle.

In those peaceful times, and blessed with institutions that afford the fullest security for the preservation of our civil and religious liberties, it is difficult to conceive the stormy struggles to which the country was subjected, in the efforts of our forefathers, amid contending factions, to secure and maintain the liberties which we now enjoy, and to hand them down to us unimpaired. Still more difficult is it to realize the fact, that very little more than a century has passed since this country was the scene of a fierce civil war, in which members of the same family were arrayed against each other in hostile conflict, and, during the progress of which, and of the ruthless and vindictive executions that followed it, the bravest blood of Britain,—that of the devoted, though mistaken, adherents of the Stuarts,—was poured out like water on their native soil.

The circumstances out of which this great conflict originated may be thus briefly detailed. The continued infraction of the laws by a systematic indifference to every principle of legality, the violation of the liberties of the people, the brutal cruelty and senseless obstinacy, the persistent determination to deprive the Episcopal and Presbyterian Churches of their rights and privileges, and to restore the domination of the Roman Catholic Church, which characterized the proceedings of James II. during his short and most unhappy reign, completely alienated the affections of his subjects, and eventually led the best and greatest men of the country to seek the aid of the Prince of Orange, afterwards William III., against the tyranny and oppression to which they were subjected.

The flight of the King, and the successful accomplishment, and glorious results of the Revolution of 1688, speedily followed that movement, and the stable and permanent advantages, and constitutional reforms, that subsequently had their origin in the Bill of Rights, were thus secured to us.

While experiencing those manifold benefits, and realizing the blessed results of the solid guarantees for the maintenance and extension of their liberties, that sprung

out of the expulsion of James II., and when there were numbers of living men, who had not only been witnesses, but were also victims of his oppression and misrule, it is passing strange that such a feeling should have existed among any considerable body of the people as could have rendered possible the Rebellions of 1715 and 1745, and have enlisted in favour of the Stuarts, and enrolled among their enthusiastic adherents, many men of high position, and extensive territorial possessions. But, though at the period of the outbreak of 1715, only 27 years had elapsed, and not more than 57 years had passed, when the Rebellion of 1745 occurred, since the Revolution, the resentment, the sense of wrong, and the many painful impressions produced on the public mind by the occurrences of James II.'s fated and luckless reign, though not wholly effaced, had unquestionably been very considerably subdued and obliterated. The sons and grandsons of the brave and devoted Cavaliers, who fought and bled for their King in the bloody fields of Naseby and Worcester, and who sacrificed wealth and life in the royalist cause, clung tenaciously to the recollections associated with those unhappy days, and still sympathised with the fallen fortunes of the Stuarts.

A considerable amount of discontent also existed in the country, occasioned by the impolitic and unseemly preference shown by the two first Georges for their Hanoverian subjects, which partiality, natural as it may have been, was, in a King of England, excessively indiscreet, and, by its undisguised, and even occasionally ostentatious manifestations, calculated to excite among his subjects feelings of considerable dissatisfaction and discontent. Those monarchs were likewise known to possess a very imperfect acquaintance, which they made no efforts to extend, with the language, laws, and constitution of England; and, prior to the outbreak of the last Rebellion, in 1745, the unpopularity of George II. had become so decided as to render it extremely probable that a movement, well conceived and skilfully carried out, for the restoration of the old dynasty, might be successful.

For, throughout the country, and even in London, the people appear to have formed a highly favourable estimate of the Pretender, (of whom zealous Jacobites had spread the most glowing accounts,) and to have entertained a higher regard for his personal character than they felt for that of George. Indeed, had there not existed the apprehension that, with their restoration, the hereditary passion for arbitrary power that had ever characterized the Stuarts would once more have manifested itself, there were few patriotic Englishmen who would not gladly have given their adherence to them, and so have relieved themselves of a dynasty that had not from the first been particularly popular, and that was then very generally regarded with contempt and dislike.

The restoration of the Stuarts, although not actively promoted by the majority of the people, was not, however, regarded with any feelings approaching abhorrence, nor did they even extend to very serious dislike. Several of the most distinguished noblemen and gentlemen were already zealous Jacobites, while many more regarded the movements and conspiracies in favour of the Stuarts either with favour or indifference.

The relations that existed between the great landowners and their tenants and dependents so largely partook, even at that comparatively recent period, of the spirit and characteristics of the feudal system, that few of the territorial families would have experienced much difficulty in gathering together, and bringing into the field, very formidable bodies of armed retainers, in behalf of any cause which they had espoused, and desired to uphold. This, however, was more especially the case in Scotland and Wales.

In the latter country, as in Scotland, the Jacobites were very numerous, and the loyalty that had been the characteristic of the Welsh people in the troubled times of the great Rebellion, and which made Wales almost the last rallying place of the unhappy Charles Stuart, and his devoted followers, still existed among the Welsh people, and rendered them ready to undergo the greatest personal

sacrifices, or to encounter any perils, in upholding the cause of his unfortunate descendant.¹

Had Charles Edward followed the counsels that were freely urged upon him during the ill-judged retreat from Derby, and marched his forces into Wales, it is probable that a formidable rising would have occurred in that country, and that, if not ultimately successful, the struggle would have been greatly prolonged, and have proved of a still more serious and sanguinary character.

But, had that course been adopted, and failure ensued, several of the great Welsh landed proprietors would have been involved in the ruin that overtook so many of the leading Scottish Jacobites, and their heads would most assuredly have fallen on the scaffold. As it was, the Duke of Beaufort, with hereditary devotion to the Stuarts, and Sir Watkin Wynn, were so seriously compromised as to place them for a time in considerable danger.

The infamous Secretary Murray, of Broughton, revealed the whole of the particulars of the Jacobite intrigues and conspiracies that had existed since the year 1740, and made such criminatory statements, with respect to the complicity of the Duke, and Sir Watkin, as clearly proved their active participation in the plots that had preceded and led to the Rebellion. The law, however, required that, in cases of treason, *two* witnesses should depose to the facts on which the charge was founded; and it was consequently found impracticable to proceed against them on Murray's traitorous testimony. It is, moreover, suspected that the king and the government felt indisposed to have them impeached, fearing that the prosecution of men so powerful and influential might give rise to serious disturbances, and cause a further outbreak of a still more dangerous character than that which had been so recently suppressed.

In addition to the Duke of Beaufort, and Sir Watkin Wynn, many of the leading noblemen and gentlemen,

¹ The "Young Pretender," as he was generally designated. He was the son of James Frederick Edward Stuart, usually called the "Old Pretender," and grandson of James II.

throughout North and South Wales, were intimately associated with the intrigues of the Jacobites. Among those most deeply involved, and who made the greatest sacrifices for the cause of the Stuarts, was William, Marquis of Powis, who followed James II. into France, and was by him created Duke of Powis, and so designated at the Court of St. Germain's. The fourth daughter of this nobleman, Lady Winifred Herbert, became the wife of the Earl of Nithsdale; and the remarkable devotion and heroic courage with which she devised, and successfully accomplished, the escape of her beloved husband, when left for execution, entitle her to an exalted place among the heroines of Wales.

The Earl had been one of the most prominent leaders of the Rebellion in 1715; and, after its suppression, was apprehended, tried, and sentenced to death. His devoted wife exhausted every effort to obtain his pardon, and sought, by the most strenuous and piteous appeals, to move the King to mercy. Finding, however, that her prayers and entreaties were disregarded, and that no other hope remained to her, this dauntless woman, undismayed by difficulties and dangers before which most hearts would have quailed, and sank into despair, wrought out a most heroic scheme for effecting the escape of the Earl from the Tower, and had the inexpressible happiness of releasing him from his prison, and placing him far beyond the reach of his pursuers. In doing this, her own safety, and even life, were seriously imperilled; but, by the interposition of influential individuals attached to the Court, a merciful view was taken of her case, and she was eventually permitted to pass over to the continent, to rejoin the husband she had saved. To Welshmen it will be a gratifying fact that, associated with her in those efforts to preserve the Earl from the scaffold, and all essential to her success, were her "dear Evans," a maid or companion, and a Mrs. Morgan, both of whom appear to have been faithful Welsh dependents of the family of Powis, and wholly devoted to the Countess,

Though the precise extent of his complicity have

escaped my inquiries, and I have failed to obtain clear evidence on the subject, I find it generally asserted, throughout the district in which he resided, that the great landed proprietor, Mr. Lewis, of the Van, Caerphilly,—“Ysguier Lewis gwyd o'r Van,”—from whom the Marquis of Bute, and the Baroness Windsor, inherit their great estates in Glamorganshire, was discovered to have participated in one of the numerous plots for the restoration of the Stuarts, and to have had a fine imposed upon him of £10,000. Such a sum in those days would have been accounted a large one; and to procure it, a large extent of land, in the vicinity of Merthyr-Tydfil, (then a humble village containing less than a dozen houses,) and elsewhere, had to be sold; and it is said that, among the properties that were then disposed of, were the Court, Mardy, and other estates, that have subsequently proved of very great value.

The uncompromising Jacobite feeling of one of the old Welsh proprietors is displayed in an anecdote that has been related of Sir Charles Kemys, of Cefn Mabley. It is said of him that, during his travels on the continent, he paid a visit to Hanover, and was treated with marked regard by the Elector; and, it is supposed, that he owed that distinction to the lessons which he gave to the Court and Sovereign in the British accomplishments of drinking and smoking tobacco. Shortly after his elevation to the throne of England, George expressed a strong desire to see his former friend, Sir Charles Kemys, and, as he persisted in the wish, he was informed by the courtiers that Sir Charles was not well affected to the present dynasty. “Poo! Poo!” said the King, “tell him he must come up, I long to smoke a pipe with him.” This command having been conveyed to Sir Charles, he is said to have declined the invitation in those terms,—“I should be happy to smoke a pipe with him as Elector of Hanover, but I can't think of it as King of England.”²

The traditions that still linger among the Welsh hills

² Williams's History of Monmouthshire.

show that Jacobite principles were not confined to the landowners, but also prevailed among the farmers and peasants. Of those traditionary stories, one is told of an old Welsh farmer, residing at a farm called Pen Craig Fargoed, in the parish of Gelligare, Glamorganshire, and who appears to have been a devoted adherent of the Stuarts. A witty fellow in the neighbourhood, rather remarkable for his acuteness, and, withal, somewhat addicted to rhyming, to meet some pressing necessity, had borrowed a guinea from his neighbour, "yr hên bapist," and, on meeting him subsequently, without having the power to repay him the loan, with the view of propitiating him, addressed him in the following terms, and, it is said, greatly pleased him, and obtained all the indulgence that he sought:—

"Tri ffeth 'rwy yn ei archi,
Cael echwyn am y guni,
A chael Pretendwr ar y faink
A chael bath Ffraink y dali."

Which, for the benefit of those unacquainted with the Welsh language, may be thus translated:—

"Three things do I desire,
To have indulgence for the guinea;
And have the Pretender on the throne;
And have French money to pay with."

In North Wales the Jacobites appear to have been numerous and powerful. A social meeting that existed very recently, if it does not still exist, at Wrexham, and known as the "Cycle," was originally a secret assembly of the Jacobites, established in Denbighshire, for the object of upholding and promoting the pretensions of the young Pretender, Prince Charles Edward, to the throne of this country. The rules of this society, to which the signatures of several of its leading members were appended, were published, about thirty years back, in the *Cambrian Quarterly Journal*;³ and, as that work possessed a limited circulation, and has now become scarce,

³ *Cambrian Quarterly Magazine*, vol. i. pp. 212, 213. 1829.

its reproduction may interest many persons to whom it would otherwise be unknown. This list of the names of the members is one of the earliest known. More recent ones are stated to have been drawn up in the form of a round robin; which, it is suspected, was adopted to prevent the possibility of either of the members being proceeded against as the principal of an assembly that was clearly of a treasonable character.

“We, whose names are underwritten, do promise at y^e time and place to our names respectively affixed, and to observe the rules following, viz.

Imp^{rs}. Every member of this society shall, for default of his appearance, submit to be censur’d, and shall thereupon be censur’d by the judgm^t of the society.

2^{ndly}. Every member y^t cannot come shall be obliged to send notice of his non-appearance by 12 of the clock at noon, together with his reason in writing, otherwise his plea shall not excuse him, if within the compass of fifteen miles from the place of meeting.

3^{rdly}. Each member obliges himself to have dinner upon the table by 12 o clock ⁴ at noon, from Michaelmas to Lady-day, and, from Lady-day till Michaelmas, at 1 of the clock.

4^{thly}. The respective masters of the places of meeting oblige themselves to take down in writing each default, and to deliver in the same at the general meeting.

5^{thly}. Every member shall keep a copy of these articles by him, to prevent plea of mistake.

6^{thly}. It is agreed y^t a general meeting shall be held by all y^e subscribers at the house of Daniel Porter, Jun^r. holden in Wrexham, on the 1st day of May, 1724, by 11 of y^e clock in the forenoon, and there to dine; and to determine upon all points relating to and according to the sense and meaning of those articles.

1723 . (Signed)

Thos. Puleston, May 21st (eldest son of Sir Roger Puleston, of Emral).

Rich. Clayton, June 11th.

Eubule Lloyd, (of Penyllan,) July 2nd.

Robt^t. Ellis, July 23rd.

W. W^{ms}. Wynn, (of Wynnstay,) Aug^t. 13th

Jno. Puleston, (of Pickhill,) Sep. 3rd.

Tho^s. Eyton, (of Leeswood,) Sep. 24th.

⁴ This shows the early hours that prevailed in those days.

W^m. Edwards, Oct. 15th

Thomas Holland, Nov. 6th.

Ken Eyton, (of Eyton,) Nov. 26th.

Phil. Egerton, (of Oulton,) Dec. 17th.

Jno. Robinson, (of Gwersyllt,) Jan^y. 8th.

Geo. Shackerly, (of Gwersyllt,) Jan^y. 29th.

Rob^t. Davies, (of Gwyssany,) Feb. 19th.

John Puleston, (of Hafod y Wern,) March 13th.

Broughton Whitehall, (of Broughton,) April 3rd.

W^m. Hanmer, April 24th, 1724.⁵⁵

In the second volume of the same Journal,⁵ a tale was published anonymously, that exhibited considerable ability, and was especially interesting from the circumstance of its introducing the hero, Meredith Alynton, to the members of the Cycle Club, that was supposed to have assembled for one of its meetings at Wynnstay, the princely residence of Sir Watkin Wynn. In the description of this scene, the author has very agreeably and skilfully blended fact with fiction, and has introduced into this portion of the tale two remarkably interesting songs, that are stated to have been veritable Jacobite relics, and which were then printed for the first time. It is believed that they were written specially for the Cycle Club; and, at the time of their publication, the MSS. had been in the possession of Owen Ellis, Esq., a descendant of one of the original members of the Club, and his ancestors, for upwards of a century. As those songs are curious, and very little known, they are here reprinted.

OF QUARRELS, AND CHANGES, AND CHANGELINGS, I SING.

Of quarrels, and changes, and changelings, I sing,
Of courtiers and cuckolds, too; God save the King!
Now Munster's fat grace lies in somebody's place,
And hopeful and so forth are turned out to grass;
O, G——e, thou'st done wisely to make such a pother
Between one German w——e and the son of another.

Now that son of another, so stubborn and rusty,
Is turn'd out of doors, and thy favors, most justly,

⁵ Cambrian Quarterly Magazine, vol. ii. 1830.

Since he was so unwise as his child to baptize,
 He may e'en thank himself if you bastardize.
 For there ne'er would have been all this wrangling work,
 If, instead of a Christian, he had bred him a Turk.

The youth that so long had dwelt under thy roof,
 Might sure have found out, by many a good proof,
 That you ne'er were so mild as to be reconciled,
 If once you're provok'd, to man, woman, or child.
 But, alas, for poor England, what hopes can be had
 From a prince not so wise as to know his own dad !

Were he twice more thy son than e'er anyone thought him,
 There are forty and forty good reasons to out him,
 For he trod on the toe of a gallant young beau,
 And made it so sore that he hardly could go ;
 And unless for this due correction he feels,
 Who knows but he soon may tread on thy own heels !

Of your heels, oh ! take care, let no one abuse 'em,
 For it may be you'll soon have occasion to use 'em,
 For if J——y should land, you'd soon understand
 That one pair of heels is worth two pair of hands ;
 And then the pert whipster will find, I suppose,
 Other work for his feet than to tread on folk's toes.

ROBIN JOHN CLARK.

Ye true bacchanals come to Ned of the Dales,
 And there let's carouse oe'r a butt of strong liquor,
 Bring with you no shirkers, nor friends to usurpers,
 But souls that will drink till their pulses beat quicker.
 May the courtier who snarls at the friend of Prince C——s,
 And eke who our houses and windows made dark,
 Ne'er pilfer much treasure, nor taste of such pleasure ;
 Then hark to the chorus of Robin John Clark.

May each bung his eye till the vessel's quite dry,
 And drink to the low'ring extravagant taxes ;
 For the spirit of Britain, by foreigners spit on,
 Quite cold by oppression and tyranny waxes.
 Then here's to the toast, tho' the battle was lost,
 And he who refuses a traitor we'll mark :
 Here's a health to the prince, not meaning from whence,
 For thus sings the chorus of Robin John Clark.

Then fill up another to the good duke his brother,
 Not meaning that blood-thirsty cruel assassin ;

May the Scotch partisans recollect their stout clans,
 Their force, twenty thousand in number surpassing ;
 May they enter Whitehall, old St. James's, and all,
 While the troops are for safety encamp'd in the park ;
 May kind heaven inspire each volley and fire,
 For thus sings the chorus of Robin John Clark.

Hand in hand let us joyn against such as combine,
 And dare to enslave with vile usurpation ;
 Whenever time offers, we'll open our coffers,
 And fight to retrieve the bad state of the nation.
 We'll not only drink, but we'll act as we think,
 We'll take the brown musket, the sword, and the dirk,
 Thro' all sorts of weather, we'll trade it together,
 So God bless the chorus of Robin John Clark.

In a note to this tale it is stated that tradition reports that the young Pretender visited the Principality prior to the Rebellion ; but this statement is scarcely credible, nor is there any evidence in support of its truth. It is, however, indisputable, that he reckoned the greater number of the wealthy landowners of Wales among his adherents, and one of the original projects of his army, in its advance from Scotland, was that of marching into Wales, where the people, and even the clergy,⁶ were well known to be warmly devoted to the Stuarts, while the character of the country was considered to be favourable to the desultory mode of warfare practised by the Highlanders. Anticipating that such a course would be adopted, several of the leading gentry had prepared themselves to join him, and many of them had left their houses, and were actually on their way to meet him,⁷ when the mortifying intelligence reached them of the retreat from Derby. At that period, the influence of the gentry of Wales over their tenantry, and the peasantry generally, was very great, and it is extremely probable that an advance

⁶ Referring to the exclusion of Welshmen from Welsh Bishoprics it is remarked in a pamphlet, published in 1831, that "this system is said to have originated in the resentment of King William against the Jacobite principles of the native Welsh Clergy."—*Prize Essay on the Causes which have produced Dissent in Wales*, p. 26.

⁷ Chambers's History of the Rebellion, vol. i. p. 233.

into Wales would have secured to the Pretender an immense accession to his forces. The unexpected retreat, however, prevented any rising among the Welsh, and the adherents of the Stuarts were thus saved from the ruin in which most probably they would otherwise have been eventually involved. They were fully prepared to risk both life and estate in the cause of the prince whom they loved, though that prince, like other Stuarts, may, after all, have proved unworthy of their sacrifices and devotion. Tradition states that, for many years subsequent to the memorable Forty-Five,⁸ the Welsh squires, at their convivial meetings, were accustomed to discuss and dispute as to the share which each had taken in the movement, and the respective distances that intervened between them and the prince's army, when the news of the retreat reached them, and compelled them to return to their homes. In a letter written many months subsequently,⁹ the young Pretender, while referring incidently to Mr. Barry, states that he "arrived at Derby two days after I parted. He had been sent by Sir Watkin Wynn to assure me, in the name of my friends, that they were ready to join me in what manner I pleased."

The prince himself is said to have been most anxious to proceed into Wales;¹ for at Derby, when the retreat was under discussion, and all his arguments in favour of an advance to London had proved unavailing, he, at last, "as a middle course, proposed that they should march into Wales, to give their partizans in that country an opportunity of joining."²

Foremost and boldest among those who contended for a forward movement, and counselled the advance upon London, was David Morgan. He determinedly opposed the retreat, and clearly foresaw its disastrous consequences. When he found that the Scottish commanders had actually commenced the retrograde movement, and that the troops

⁸ Chambers's History of the Rebellion, vol. i. p. 309.

⁹ Lord Mahon's History of England.

¹ Forbes's Jacobite Memoirs, p. 55.

² Lord Mahon's History of England.

were in full retreat for Scotland, it is stated by one of the leading noblemen³ connected with the Pretender, that "Mr. Morgan, an English gentleman, came up to Mr. Vaughan, who was riding with the Life Guards, and after saluting him, said, 'D——me, Vaughan, they are going to Scotland!' Mr. Vaughan replied, 'wherever they go, I am determined, now I have joined them, to go along with them.' Upon which Mr. Morgan said, with an oath, 'I had rather be *hanged* than go to Scotland to *starve*.' Mr. Morgan *was hanged* in 1746; and Mr. Vaughan *is an officer in Spain*."

David Morgan, or, as he is occasionally designated, David Thomas Morgan, was one of the boldest spirits associated with this momentous struggle. He was among the first of the English, or Welsh, Jacobites to join the forces of Charles Edward on his advance into England, and remained by his side until the forward movement had been finally abandoned, and all hope of a successful issue to the enterprize had been lost.

As was the case with many of the unfortunate participators in the Rebellion, it was the fortune of David Morgan to be misrepresented by the partisans of the reigning dynasty, and to have his memory assailed by the most injurious aspersions, and discreditable calumnies. Long after the turbulent times in which these brave and hapless men lived, it would have been unsafe to suggest any palliation of their offence, to express any sorrow for their melancholy fate, or to seek to defend their memories from unmerited ignomy, and unjustifiable slander. And, yet many of those whose memories have been clouded, and whose names have been involved in partial oblivion, were men of the highest honour, the most refined intelligence, and chivalrous self-devotion. In supporting the cause of the prince, whom they regarded as the only lawful heir to the throne of their country, the highest order of personal bravery, romantic heroism, and complete disregard of all selfish considerations were evoked, and

³ Lord Elcho's MS. Account.

called into existence. With a lofty disdain of the dangers which they incurred, they braved the fearful penalties which the barbarous laws relating to High Treason then awarded to its luckless victims, and were content to sacrifice their positions (distinguished and influential as many of them were), their homes, and fortunes, and even life itself, for the cherished idea to which they clung, and were devoted. For themselves individually, few of them could have anticipated much personal advantage, even from a successful issue to their struggle; while all that men cherished and held dear were fearfully imperilled. Yet these were the men whom a merciless but dominant faction doomed to deaths invested with every horror that cruelty and a brutal law could devise, and pursued with malignant and unrelenting ferocity, even after they had expiated with their lives the offences into which their mistaken but noble devotion had led them.

Among the adherents of the young Pretender there were few who evinced more devoted attachment to his cause, albeit a desperate one, than David Morgan. He appears to have received prompt information of the movements of Charles Edward, and to have been aware, at an early period, of the projected advance into England. The army of the Pretender commenced its adventurous march from Carlisle, where the onward movement was finally decided upon, on the 20th of November, 1745; and arrived at Preston, in Lancashire, on the 27th,⁴ where the two divisions into which their forces had been divided were again united, and rested for the day.

Here it was that David Morgan joined them, with a friend, whose name is unknown to me, but who, together with his servant, had accompanied him from Monmouthshire.⁵ At the distance of a mile, or so, from the town, the two gentlemen dismounted, and leaving their horses in charge of the servant, walked to Preston, in order to elude observation, and to avoid creating any suspicion of their intention to join the rebels.

⁴ Jacobite Memoirs.

⁵ Howell's State Trials, vol. xviii. p. 371.

The circumstance of its appearing in evidence that he had left Monmouthshire with his friend probably caused it to be inferred that he resided in that county. Such, however, was not the case. His residence was in Glamorganshire, though close to the borders of the adjoining county of Monmouth. It is somewhat singular that the house of his father's nativity, if not of his also, as well as that in which he resided, though nearly 20 miles apart, were situated in nearly the same relative position with reference to the counties of Monmouth and Glamorgan; and were, in each case, not far removed from the Rhymney river, which divides those shires.

He appears to have spent much of his time in London, and to have possessed a residence there; but, when staying in Glamorganshire, he resided at Penygraig Taff, which, at that period, must have been a singularly secluded and solitary place. It is situated in the hamlet of Forest, in the parish of Merthyr-Tydfil, and occupies an elevated and picturesque position on the summit of the hill that divides the Taff from the Bargoed Taff valley, and is now a farm-house, retaining nothing in its character to distinguish it from the ordinary dwelling of a Welsh farmer. At that period, the population must have been very limited, and widely scattered; so that few scenes could be found of greater seclusion, or more conducive to quiet and calm contentment.

The river Taff, that flowed far below in the depths of the valley, was then unpolluted by the dross and impure refuse of the mines and manufactures of Merthyr-Tydfil, and, except when agitated into wrathful turbulence by storms, and the rapid influx of mountain torrents, rippled by in pure and calm serenity. The small forge, at which iron had been manufactured as early as the reign of Henry VIII., if not previously, at the place now called Pontygwaith, or the bridge of the work, and immediately below Penygraig, on the opposite side of the river, had long ceased to resound in the valley, and Merthyr-Tydfil was then a quiet village, containing perhaps at most a score of houses, or so. And now, when little more than a century

has passed away, how wonderfully have all things changed, and the stillness of this remote locality been invaded. Midway up the side of the valley, not more than a mile from Penygraig House, now stands the Quaker's-Yard Station of the West Midland Railway, and the two noble viaducts that carry the Taff Vale and the West Midland Railways across the Taff river; while at an equally short distance, stands another viaduct of elegant proportions that spans the tributary valley of Bargoed Taff.

In this quiet spot David Morgan was roused from what may possibly have been peaceful dreams of happiness, and calm domesticity, to participate in the anxieties and perils of the Rebellion. On receiving the first intimation of the Pretender's arrival in Scotland, he departed from Penygraig, to return there no more; and there is a tradition still extant in that neighbourhood that, in starting on his fatal journey, he stopped at Efail Llancaich, which still exists as a smithy, to have his horse shod, and is stated so have said to the smith, in Welsh, "You are against me now, but when I return you will be all with me." He then appears to have proceeded to join the friend of whom previous mention has been made, and to have journeyed with him on horseback through North Wales into Cheshire, where he paid a visit to an acquaintance residing at Etherton Hall. From thence he rode to Preston, in Lancashire, as already stated, to join the army of the Pretender.

It is quite manifest that he must have been very actively and influentially engaged in the movement prior to this, and well known by reputation, if not by actual correspondence, to Prince Charles Edward, as he was immediately received into his confidence, and held so prominent a position in his counsels as to cause him to be designated the "Pretender's Counsellor."⁴

He accompanied the army in its onward march to Manchester, where it arrived on the 29th. Though he had joined them only two days previously, he was shown

⁴ Howell's State Trials, vol. xviii.

on his trial to have been one of the most prominent actors in the proceedings that took place in that town. The Pretender was received at Manchester with demonstrations of high satisfaction, and a large number of the inhabitants enrolled themselves among his supporters, under the designation of "the Manchester Regiment," the command of which was offered, in the first place, to David Morgan. He, however, declined the position, and the unfortunate Colonel Towneley,⁵ who, Morgan said, "was much fitter than he was for such an office," a Roman Catholic gentleman of ancient family, high reputation, and more than ordinary attainments, consented to assume the command. But, though declining to undertake any special command, he marched with the army as a gentleman volunteer, was particularly active and prominent, and appears to have been invested with considerable authority. He obtained an order from Secretary Murray⁶ to search for arms, and for their surrender on pain of military execution; and it was proved by one of the constables of Manchester that he had obtained possession of arms, which he had delivered at the lodgings of "Squire Morgan." He wore a white cockade in his hat, and a sword by his side. It was likewise shown that he paid the expenses, when the officers and he dined together;

⁵ Few families have been greater sufferers through their loyalty and faithful adherence to their religion than the Towneleys. Francis Towneley was the fifth son of Richard Towneley, of Towneley, county of Lancaster, and was born in 1709. His eldest brother, Richard, participated in the Rebellion of 1715, but though tried for the offence, he had the good fortune to escape. The third brother, John, entered the French service; and became tutor to the young Pretender. John Towneley distinguished himself by translating *Hudibras* into French, and exhibited therein a remarkable knowledge of the language. The grandson of Richard, the eldest brother, and the twenty-ninth possessor of Towneley from Spartingus, Dean of Whalley, *temp.* Alfred the Great, was Charles Towneley, to whose refined taste we owe the well known collection, the "Towneley Marbles," which was purchased by the nation, for the British Museum, for the sum of £20,000.

⁶ The despicable Murray, of Broughton, who acted as the Pretender's Secretary.

and, as one of the witnesses stated at his trial, "gave all the directions about everything," and rode at the side of the Pretender, mounted on a bay horse. It was further given in evidence against him, that, "being at dinner with several rebel officers at Derby, he asked Lord Elcho what number of men they had? to which his lordship answered, about 4 or 5000, and 17 pieces of cannon. That he then asked, what religion the young Pretender was of? and Lord Elcho replied, shaking his head, that he believed his religion was to seek. That the prisoner advised to beat up for volunteers, and said that it would be an easy matter to march to London; for that there were not above 3000 soldiers between London and that city, and those mostly dragoons, except a few undisciplined troops lately raised by Lords Gower and Cholmondely, who could make but little opposition."⁷

They departed from Manchester on the 1st of December, and, marching through Congleton, Leek, and Ashbourn, they entered on the 4th December into the town of Derby, which was only one hundred and twenty-seven miles distant from the metropolis.

The news of the Pretender having arrived at that town soon reached London, and struck terror into the hearts of those who were unfavourable to the Stuarts' cause; and the King was so seriously alarmed, that he ordered his yacht to be loaded with his valuables, and to remain at the Tower Quay, prepared to start at the shortest intimation. At this time, precarious as the Prince's position unquestionably was, a bold dash in the direction of London would probably have rendered him the possessor of the throne of England. Weaker counsels, however, prevailed; the whole of the principal leaders imperatively urged a retreat into Scotland, and the Prince was compelled to succumb to their views, though wholly opposed to his own convictions. This decision sealed the fate of Charles, and destroyed the glowing hopes that had hitherto buoyed him up; but none of his adherents, as

⁷ Howell's State Trials, vol. xviii.

has been already stated, were more clearly impressed with the conviction of the suicidal impolicy of a retrograde movement than David Morgan. Bold, decisive, and rapid action could alone have saved them; and an onward march would have encouraged the wavering, and strengthened the determination of the doubtful; while many of their adherents, as in the case of the Welsh gentry, were at that moment on their way to join them. But regardless of the prayers and entreaties of the Prince, the Highland commanders held firmly to their determination to return to Scotland; and on Friday,⁸ the 6th of December, commenced the melancholy retreat, that was the forerunner of so much subsequent disaster, bloodshed, and ruthless cruelty. Seeing the utter hopelessness of their position, if left to the tender mercies of the government, many of the English Jacobites determined to share the fortunes of the retreating army, while others withdrew themselves at various parts of the route, and made an effort to save themselves by flight. Among those who declined to proceed into Scotland, as already mentioned, was David Morgan, who parted from his friends at Ashbourn, near Leek, in Staffordshire, on Saturday, the 7th of December; and, accompanied by a guide, proceeded in the direction of Stone, near which place he was apprehended on suspicion of having belonged to the Pretender's army, and placed in confinement.

Though apprehended early in the month of December, 1745, and brought to trial among the first batch of the unfortunate Jacobites, David Morgan suffered imprisonment until the close of July, 1746. Immediately preceding the trial, he was imprisoned in Newgate, to which prison it is probable that he was removed shortly after his apprehension.

The special commission was opened on the 23rd of June, when eight of the Judges went in procession from Sergeants' Inn, to the Town Hall of St. Margaret's Hill, and Lord Chief Justice Lee delivered a charge to the

⁸ The Pretenders and their Adherents.

grand jury. The trials did not, however, commence before the 15th of July, 1746, when seventeen prisoners, including David Morgan, were placed at the bar, though his trial did not, after all, take place until the 18th.

It is stated that "the time, place, or circumstances were not varied in any of the indictments, except Counsellor Morgan's, who was indicted for having been in arms in Derby on the 5th of December, and adhering to the King's enemies."⁹

David Morgan had been too bold and prominent an actor in the Rebellion to render it in any degree difficult for the government to procure decisive evidence of his complicity; and, though he made a lengthened and ingenious defence, the united testimony of several credible witnesses insured his conviction.

After the breaking up of the court, all those that were found guilty received notice that sentence of death would be passed upon them on Tuesday, the 22nd of July, and were required to be prepared on that day with any plea they might have to urge in arrest of judgment. Many objections were accordingly raised on behalf of the prisoners, but were over-ruled by the court; and Lord Chief Justice Lee then proceeded to pass sentence on the whole of the prisoners, seventeen in number, the last of whom was David Morgan, in a lengthy address, and concluded by sentencing them, in the barbarous terms prescribed by the law of high treason, "to be drawn to the place of execution, and when they are come there, they must be severally hanged by the neck, but not till they be dead, for they must be cut down alive; then their bowels must be taken out, and burnt before their faces; then their heads must be severed from their bodies, and their bodies severally divided into four quarters, and these must be at the King's disposal."¹

At two o'clock, on the 29th of the same month, an order arrived at the gaol for the execution, on the next day, of Francis Towneley, George Fletcher, Thomas

⁹ Scots Magazine, 1746.

¹ Howell's State Trials, vol. xviii.

Chadwick, James Dawson, Thomas Deacon, John Berwick, Andrew Syddal, and David Morgan; and when it was intimated to them that they were to die on the following morning; "they seemed not at all shocked, but rather cheerful, only saying 'God's will be done.' They went to rest at the usual hour, and slept soundly; but first took leave of their friends."² Among those who came to take a sad farewell of one of the unhappy men, was Mrs. Morgan. During the whole period of her husband's imprisonment she had attended on him with remarkable devotion, and, to use the words of a contemporary writer, by no means favourable to the unfortunate Jacobites, "had behaved with all the love and tenderness becoming an affectionate wife."³

At six o'clock on the following morning they were aroused from sleep, and unfastened from the floor, to which, since their condemnation, they had been chained. On descending to the court-yard of their prison, Morgan ordered coffee to be prepared for their breakfast, and bade them "take care to make it very good and strong; for he had never drunk any since he had been in that prison fit to come near a gentleman."⁴

With death in its most terrible form before them, never did men manifest more undaunted courage and manly fortitude, nor more calmly await the doom which they knew to be inevitable. Actors and sufferers in the same cause, and participators in the same sad fate, they sympathised with, and aided, comforted, and consoled each other like a band of brothers. Much has been said of the lofty indifference to his doom that was exhibited at his execution by the brave Lord Balmerino, which was of so remarkable a character that a fear was expressed by himself that his coolness might possibly be supposed to proceed from insensibility to the great change that awaited him; from which, however, the noble fortitude of the old Jacobite lord was very far removed. And, while clinging warmly to life, and to the loved ones from

² Scots Magazine, 1760.

³ Authentic Account, 1760.

⁴ Howell's State Trials, vol. xviii.

whom they were about to be separated for ever, David Morgan and his heroic companions had, in like manner, tutored their hearts to manly resignation, and were determined so to die as to reflect no dishonour on the cause which they had espoused. In their conduct and demeanour in the hour of their great trial and suffering, they displayed neither levity, nor stoical indifference to the awful fate that awaited them; but comported themselves with the calmness and resignation of brave Christian gentlemen. After breakfast their irons were struck off, Colonel Towneley being the first to have them removed, and Mr. Morgan the second. They were then pinioned, and, while the sledges were being placed in readiness, they were removed for a short time into a back room. After this they were placed in three sledges, each of which was drawn by three horses; and about ten o'clock were removed from the gaol, and taken to Kennington Common, guarded by a troop of dragoons, and some companies of the Foot-Guards. There the gallows had been erected, and beside it were placed a pile of faggots and a block. On their arrival, the doomed men were removed from the sledges to a cart that was placed under the beam, for the purpose of receiving, and turning them off. The faggots were then set on fire, and the guards formed in a circle around the place of execution.

There being no minister of religion in attendance on either of the condemned men, "Mr. Morgan, with his spectacles on, read prayers, and other pious meditations to them,"⁵ out of some devotional work, to which they all paid marked attention, and joined devoutly and fervently in the prayers that were offered up. They continued at their devotions for upwards of half-an-hour, after which they arose from their knees, and each taking some papers out of the book that he held in his hand, threw them, together with the book, among the spectators. Those papers appear to have contained ardent professions of attachment to the cause for which they died, and declara-

⁵ Scots Magazine, 1760.

tions that they remained faithful to their principles, even to death. They likewise handed statements, of a similar purport, to the sheriffs, and then flung their hats, which were laced with gold, among the crowd. The executioner immediately placed the caps on their heads, drew them over their faces, and, the ropes having been adjusted round their necks, they were at once turned off. After they had been suspended for about three minutes, their shoes, white stockings, and breeches were pulled off by the soldiers, while the executioner himself removed the other portions of the clothing, immediately after which the body of Colonel Towneley was cut down, and placed on the block. Some appearances of life having however, been observed, the executioner struck the body, and cut the throat with a knife. He then proceeded to remove the bowels and heart, which he threw into the fire. The head was afterwards severed from the body with a cleaver, and both were placed in a coffin that stood ready to receive them. The body of poor David Morgan was the next to undergo the same disgusting and barbarous mutilation, which was repeated in succession on all the other victims, terminating with the unhappy Dawson, after which the executioner shouted aloud, "God save King George," to which the multitude responded with a yell.

The name of James Dawson is connected with a melancholy incident which the poet Shenstone⁶ made the subject of the pathetic ballad of "Jemmy Dawson." He belonged to a family of high respectability in Lancashire, and had been educated at St. John's College, Cambridge. Having formed an ardent attachment for a young lady of handsome fortune, they were engaged to be married just at the time of the outbreak of the Rebellion. All the influence of his friends, and every effort that the most devoted affection could suggest having failed to secure his pardon, no entreaties or remonstrances could dissuade the faithful girl, to whom he was affianced, from being

⁶ Works of William Shenstone, vol. i. p. 179.

present at the execution of the man whom she loved with the deepest tenderness. Through all the horrors that characterised the melancholy scene, and while witnessing the cruel and barbarous fate of her lover, she exhibited no violent demonstration of sorrow ; but when all had been concluded, and the heart which had beaten so warmly for her had been thrown into the flames, the terrible excitement, which had hitherto sustained her wholly gave way, and, exclaiming—"my dear, I follow thee!—I follow thee!—sweet Jesus, receive both our souls together!" she fell back in the carriage, and expired, as the last word trembled on her lips.⁷

Though in passing to their trials the mob had hooted and insulted them, it was observable at their execution that the assembled multitude exhibited considerable sympathy, and appeared to commiserate the fate of those gallant and hapless gentlemen.

When the horrible proceedings had been entirely concluded, the bodies of the sufferers were removed to the prison from whence they had been brought, "to await his Majesty's pleasure;" and three days afterwards the heads of Towneley and Fletcher were fixed on Temple Bar, while those of Deacon, Berwick, Chadwick, and Syddal were preserved in spirits, and conveyed to Manchester and Carlisle, to be exposed on conspicuous places in those towns. I have failed to ascertain how the heads of Blood, Dawson, and Morgan were disposed of; but it is probable that they were allowed to remain with the bodies. Towneley's body is said to have been buried at St. Pancras, while the bodies of his companions were interred in the burying-ground attached to the Foundling Hospital.⁸

Shortly after the execution, the statements which they had delivered to the sheriffs were published;⁹ and that written by David Morgan is here introduced.

⁷ Thomson's *Memoirs of the Jacobites*, vol. iii. p. 415.

⁸ Chambers's *History of the Rebellion*, vol. ii. p. 233.

⁹ Authentic copies of the papers wrote by Arthur Lord Balmerino, and others, and delivered to the sheriffs at the places of execution, 1746.

A true copy of the Paper delivered by David Morgan, Esq., to the Sheriff of Surry, at the Place of Execution, on Wednesday, July 30th, 1746.

It having been always deemed incumbent on every Person in my *Situation*, to say something of himself, and the *Cause* he suffers for, I could not decline it, however disagreeable to my *Persecutors*, when I once held it my Duty.

The CAUSE I embarked in was that of my Liege Sovereign KING JAMES THE THIRD, from an Opinion I long since had of his *just Right*: an Opinion founded on the *Constitution*, and strongly recognized and established by an ACT OF PARLIAMENT NOW IN ITS FULL VIGOUR, which neither the People *collectively* nor *representatively* have any Power or Authority to *subvert* or *alter*. [See the Statute of *Charles II.*] Nor can that *Law* be repealed but by a FREE PARLIAMENT summoned to meet by a LAWFUL KING: Not by a Convention commanded by a *foreign Prince and Usurper*, and intimidated and directed by *him* at the Head of a *foreign Army*.

To this *Convention* we owe the *Revolution*; to the *Revolution* we owe the *Accession* of the House of *Hanover*; and to this *Accession* all our present Ills, and the melancholy and certain Prospect of the intire Subversion of all that is dear and valuable to *Britons*.

My Opinion of the King's Title to the imperial Crown of these *Realms*, thus uncontrovertible, received additional Strength and Satisfaction from his *Character and Qualifications*, confirmed to me by Persons of the strictest Honour and Credit, and demonstrated to me, that his *Establishment* on the *Throne* of his *Ancestors*, would be an *Incident*, as productive of Happiness to the *Subject*, as of Justice to the *Sovereign*, since his MAJESTY's confessed superior *Understanding* is absolutely necessary to extricate our *Country* out of that most desperate *State* she has been declining to since the *Revolution*, and has *precipitately* fallen into since the *Accession*.

On this Declension and Ruin of our *Country* have the *Favourers* and *Friends* of both *Revolution* and *Accession* built *vast* and *despicable Fortunes*; which possibly they may entail (with the conditions of *Slavery* annexed) on their *betrayed* and *abandoned Issue*; it being much more clear that *Slavery* will descend from *Generation* to *Generation*, than such *Fortunes* so *acquired*.

Have we not seen *Parliaments*, in a *long Succession*, raise *Supplies* sufficient to surfeit *Avarice*? Do we not see that *Avarice* heaping up *Millions* for the Nurture and Support of *Foreign Dominions*, on the Ruins of that *Country* that grants them? Nor can this move the least Compassion, or even com-

mon Regard for her Welfare and Interest, from that *ungrateful Avarice*.

British Councils, since the *Usurper's Accession*, have had *foreign Interest* their constant Object; and the Power and Finances of the *imperial Crown of Great Britain* have been betrayed, prostituted and squandered, for the Convenience and Support of the meanest *Electorate in Germany*; and the *Elector's* Conduct has been more destructive and detrimental to our Country, than all the *Finesse, Treachery and Force*, that the *French*, or any other *Adversary's Council's and Power* could have attempted or effected. *Land-Armies* only can sustain and cover Dominions on the *Continent*; these are raised in the Country *protected*, and maintained by the Country *protecting*. Here *Great-Britain* has all the Burden, and *Hanover* all the advantage: Whereas *NAVIES* are the *British Bulwarks*, which have, by the *Elector*, been neglected, misapplied, or employed to her Disadvantage, and can alone guard and protect her *Dominions and Commerce*.

If the present *Convention* had any regard to Self-Preservation, or that of their Constituents, they would *this Session* have made new *Laws* for the further Security of *Privilege*: The *Pannick* diffused universally over the *Electoral Family* would have prepared an easy Assent to any Law in the Subject's Favour: But, even here, these *Representatives* omitted this *second Opportunity* of securing and improving the Happiness of their Electors, and, instead thereof, have given *additional Power* to the *Usurper* to suspend the BULWARK OF LIBERTY, and invert the Order and Method of *Trials for Treason*: *Precedents* they will have occasion one Day to *repent of*, since they very probably may fall *Victims to them*.

The false Glosses and Fears of *Popery*, universally propagated, have deluded *unthinking vulgar* minds, and diverted all Attention to Reason; when it is clear, to any just Reflection, that his MAJESTY can have no *happiness* but what results from *his Britain*, who, he must know from *melancholy experience*, will not be tempted to part with the *Doctrines and Exercise* of the *Religion established* in her. His Majesty must know, that a *lawful King* must adhere to the *Constitution in Church and State*, and shew a most inviolable Attachment to those *Laws* that were made for the Security of *both*, whatever Indulgences and Concessions are made by *Conventions* to an *Usurper* for the Breach of all. A *LAWFUL KING IS A NURSING FATHER*, who would protect us, and demand no more *Supplies* than the immediate Services required, and those from the Riches of the *Country*, the Excesses of *Trade and Commerce*, without Prejudice to either;

and such would be deemed best that were just sufficient for the Purposes they were raised, and for which only they would be employed. But an *Usurper* is a *Step-Father*, that builds his own Hopes and Views on the Ruin and Destruction of his *usurped Dominions*, and has *Joy* from the *fleeing and improving* of those under his *Influence and Power*.

Even his *Majesty's Enemies* allow him *great Understanding*, nor has any one of them imputed *Breach of Honour* to him. His Abilities and Sense of our Situation would move *him* to interpose in favour of his *Subjects*; and are equal (if human abilities are so) to extricate us out of the various *Perplexities and Intricacies* we have been brought into by *Negotiations*, for *thirty Years*, for the Preservation of the Balance of Power, to the *Disappointment* of every *Briton's Hope*, and the *Ridicule* of all our *Enemies*.

If you once think, my Brethren, you must repent; if you repent, you must make the *Constitution just Reparation*; which can only be done by calling in your lawful KING JAMES THE THIRD, who has *Justice* to attempt, and *Wisdom* to compleat, a thorough *Reformation* in the Constitution, and to fix in its pristine happy *State*; and which, in spite of all Chicane and Prejudice, *without a RESTORATION* will never be done.

I am to declare my Happiness in having such a *Wife and Daughter*, that forgive my involving them in my misfortunes, and having an undeserved Share in them: I heartily thank them, and wish them both temporal and eternal Happiness: and hope that those who are Friends to my *King* will look upon them as the Relict and Orphan of a *Fellow-Subject* that has *suffered* in the ROYAL CAUSE.

I glory in the Honour I have had of seeing his ROYAL HIGHNESS CHARLES PRINCE REGENT, and of being admitted into his Confidence; and I here declare it the greatest Happiness I ever knew, and the highest Satisfaction; and such as even my vainest Thoughts could never have suggested to me: An Honour to every rational Creature that can judge of the many requisite *Virtues* of a PRINCE centred in him truly, tho' so often falsely assigned to the *worst*. His Character exceeds any Thing I could have imagined or conceived: An Attempt to describe him would seem gross Flattery; and nothing but a plain and naked Narrative of his Conduct to all Persons, and in all Scenes he is engaged in, can properly shew him. A *Prince* betrayed by the *Mercy* he shewed his Enemies, in judging of the Dispositions of *Mankind* by the *Benignity* of his own. His *Fortitude* was disarmed by it, and his *ungrateful Enemies* think they have reaped the Benefit of it; but let them not rejoice at his *Misfor-*

tunes, since his Failure of Success will, without the immediate Interposition of *Providence*, be absolutely their *Ruin*. What a Contrast is there between his Royal Highness the PRINCE and the Duke of Cumberland! The first displays his *true Courage*, in Acts of *Humanity* and *Mercy*; the latter a *Cruelty*, in *Burning*, *Devastation*, and *Destruction* of the *British* Subjects, their Goods and Possessions; I would ask—Who is the true HERO?

The Report of my having betrayed his ROYAL HIGHNESS, or his Friends, is scandalously false; my Appeal to the Counsel for the Prosecution on my Trial, and my suffering Death, must refute it to all honest Men: And I hereby declare I had rather suffer any Death the Law can inflict.—I deem Death infinitely preferable to a Life of Infamy.—But the Death I suffer for my KING, gives me vast *Consolation and Honour* that I am thought worthy of it.

To conclude, my *Brethren* and *Fellow-Subjects*, I must make Profession of that Religion I was baptized, have continued, and shall through the divine Permission die in, which is that of the *Church* of England, and which I hope will stand and prevail against the Malice, Devices and Assaults of her Enemies, as well those of the *Church* of Rome, as those equally dangerous, the Followers of *Luther* and *Calvin*, covered under and concealed in the specious Bugbears of *Popery* and *arbitrary Power*. This my Faith I have fully set forth in a *Poem* of two Books, intitled, *The Christian Test, or the Coalition of Faith and Reason*; the first of which I have already published, and the latter I have bequeathed to the care of my unfortunate but very dutiful Daughter Mrs. *Mary Morgan*, to be published by her, since it has pleased God I shall not live to see it. To this *Poem* I refer, which I hope will obviate all Cavil to the contrary.

I freely forgive all my Enemies from the *Usurper* to *Meir* and *Maddox* the infamous Witnesses in support of his Prosecution of me: And I must also, and do from my Heart, forgive my Lord Chief Justice, for his *stupid and inveterate Zeal*, in painting my *Loyalty to my King* with all the Reproaches he had Genius enough to bestow on it, when he passed Sentence on Seventeen at once, and which he did without Precedent because it was without Concern.

I beg all I have offended that they will forgive me for *Jesus Christ's* Sake, my only Mediator and Advocate, *To whom with the Father and the holy Spirit, be all Adoration, Praise, Glory, Dominion and Power for ever.* Amen.

DAVID MORGAN.

July 30.
1746.

The few particulars of those unfortunate gentlemen that appeared in the *Scots* and in the *Gentleman's Magazines*, for the year 1746, were unquestionably derived in a great measure from a pamphlet that was published, shortly after their execution, entitled, "A Genuine Acc^t. of the behaviour, &c., of Francis Towneley," &c. This pamphlet was characterised by considerable political virulence; and, like all the publications of that turbulent period, sought to defame the unfortunate Jacobites, and to cover their memories with odium. To defend them from such attacks and unjust aspersions would, at that period, have been highly dangerous, and justice could not possibly have been done to their memories; but now when more than a century has elapsed since their deaths, and the asperities of party feeling which then prevailed have wholly disappeared, and, by the majority of our countrymen, are scarcely known to have ever existed, their reputations should be relieved from the unjust calumnies that have so long been suffered to attach to them; and the chivalric bravery with which these, and scores of other unhappy Jacobites, laid down their lives on the scaffold, cannot fail to awaken the sympathy and admiration of every Englishman. These brave but ill-fated men, without one exception, faced death with such undaunted firmness as to excite the wonder, sympathy, and respect of the multitudes who attended their executions. Though differing in age, social position, education, and habits, in their demeanour and proceedings on the scaffold, the most perfect similarity was exhibited; for, as Sir Walter Scott says,¹

"They prayed for the exiled family, expressed their devotion to the cause in which they died, and particularly their admiration of the princely leader whom they had followed till their attachment conducted them to this dreadful fate. It may be justly questioned whether the lives of these men, supposing everyone of them to have been an apostle of Jacobitism, could have done so much to prolong their doctrines as the horror and loathing inspired by so many bloody punishments."

¹ Tales of a Grandfather, vol. iii. p. 324.

In the pamphlet² to which I have referred, the character of David Morgan is described to have been singularly unamiable and arbitrary. That such was the *worst* that could be said of him by one who wrote as the advocate and apologist of the dominant party, and the partisan of the ruthless government that doomed him and his ill-fated friends to death, and with whom it was regarded as a political necessity to traduce their characters, and hold them up to public odium, seems to me to afford very conclusive evidence that no discreditable stain rested on his name that even a hireling scribe could distort into a calumny.

The account given of him in the "Genuine Account" is here subjoined in its entirety:—

"Being naturally of a haughty turbulent disposition, his neighbours, tenants, and domesticks, were continually plagued with his ill-humours. But to sum up his character in a few words; he was a morose husband, a tyrannical master, a litigious neighbour, an oppressive landlord, and a false friend. He had pride without the least condescension, avarice without a spark of generosity, illnature without a grain of benevolence. But what his virtues and better qualities were, (if he had any,) has not come to our knowledge. If they had, we should gladly have mentioned them; that the world might not run away with an opinion, that Mr. Morgan was the only man who ever lived half a century without doing one good action, and that he died unlamented by friend, neighbour, or domestick."

It appears to me that those aspersions on the unhappy man's character and disposition are fully refuted by the whole tenor of his conduct during his imprisonment, and at his execution; coupled with the fact that none of the traditions existing in Glamorganshire regarding him are such as in any degree justify, or lend the slightest confirmation to, those representations of his enemies. The affection and untiring devotion of his wife, who constantly attended him in his prison, his profound religious convictions during his confinement, the impressive and fervent manner in which he read and prayed to his unhappy companions at the place of execution, and the love

² A Genuine Account, &c.

and respect with which they evidently regarded him, furnish very convincing testimony to the goodness of his disposition, and the rectitude of his principles. The references which he makes to his wife and daughter in his last address also show that the relations existing between them were of the most affectionate nature, and do not admit of the remotest inference that any harshness or unkindness had ever been exhibited towards them by the hapless husband and father; who, had such been the case, would naturally, in the last few hours left to him on earth, have sought their forgiveness. But, though he does actually beseech them to forgive him, it is "for involving them in my misfortunes, and having an undeserved share in them;" and I entertain a decided conviction that his only crime, if crime it were, was that of sacrificing his life and property in the effort to establish the principles that had probably been instilled into his mind from his earliest years, and in endeavouring to place on the throne of his ancestors the Prince whom he had been taught to regard as the only rightful and legitimate King.

The materials that exist for a biographical sketch of David Morgan are extremely few, and very scanty in their nature. He appears to have belonged to a family of considerable respectability in the county of Glamorgan, and to have descended from a branch of the distinguished house of Tredegar, Sir Thomas Morgan, Knt.,³ of Pen-y-coed Castle, in Monmouthshire, whose son James married the grand-daughter and heiress of Morgan Jenkin Bevan Meirick, of Coed-y-gorres. The father of David Morgan was Thomas, the second son of William Morgan, gent., who was described, in 1678, as the heir of Coed-y-gorres; and who, in the year 1680, when his kinsman,

³ In the reign of Edward IV., Morgan Jenkin Phillip was possessor of Pencoed. He married Margaret, daughter of Thomas Scudamore, of Kentchurch, and great-grand-daughter of Owen Glendower. Leland says, "Morgan the Knight of Low Wentlande, dwelling at Pencoite, a fair manor place, a mile from Bist, alias Bishopston, and two mile from Severn Sei. He is of a younger brother's house."

Thomas Morgan, Esq., of Lanrumney, was sheriff of Glamorganshire, filled the office of under-sheriff. In the year 1682, when the sheriff was Rowland Deere, Esq., of Wenvoe, the under-sheriff appears to have been Thomas Morgan, of Coed-y-gorres, the younger brother. And again, in the following year, (1683,) the sheriff being Thomas Lewis, Esq., of Lanishen, the position of under-sheriff was held for the second time by William Morgan, of Coed-y-gorres.

The eldest son of this William Morgan was also named William, and married Elizabeth, daughter of Henry Probert, Esq., of the Argoed, in Penalt, whose wife was the daughter of Thomas Morgan, Esq., of Machen, a cadet of the ancient house of Tredegar. This gentleman left three sons, named William, Henry, and Thomas, who, in the year 1722, appear respectively to have filled the offices of sheriff, under-sheriff, and county clerk of Glamorganshire.

At this time it is to be presumed that friendly relations existed between the brothers. Their father had died in January, 1718; but his widow survived until the year 1726, when disputes appear to have arisen between the children respecting the payment of legacies, and the distribution of the personalty. William Morgan had vested his property in trustees, of whom there were three, viz., Henry Probert, Esq., of Pantglas, Michael Richards, and Robert Howell, gentlemen; but the two first named gentlemen appear to have died before the widow. Legal proceedings were commenced at the court of great sessions for the counties of Glamorgan, Brecon, and Radnor, in April, 1731; and only terminated in 1736, by an appeal to the House of Lords. The cases of the appellant and respondents are in my possession, and I find therein a brief reference to David Morgan, (who appears to have had some money transactions with the deceased uncle,) which I shall extract. It occurs in the respondent's case:⁴ —“That £197 15s., due on four notes and a bond from

⁴ Particulars privately printed for the House of Lords.

David Morgan to the said testator, and included as part of the said £1453 18s. 10d., was, by an account stated between the said David Morgan, and the said Elizabeth Morgan, and the respondent William Morgan, struck off, there being a balance of £65 charged to be paid due to the said David Morgan, over and above the money due on the said notes and Bond."

As before stated, the second son of William Morgan, (described in the annexed pedigree as heir of Coed-y-gorres in 1678,) was Thomas, who married Dorothy, the daughter of David Mathew, Esq., of Llandaff, by his wife Joan, the daughter of Sir Edward Stradling, Bart., of St. Donat's. The only issue of this marriage, so far as I have been able to ascertain, was David Morgan, the unfortunate subject of this paper; and who thus appears to have been closely allied to the two distinguished families of Mathew and Stradling, then among the most wealthy and influential in Wales.

The Mathew family boasted of an illustrious descent, being derived from Gwaethvoed, Prince of Cardigan; and one of their direct ancestors being Sir David Mathew, of Llandaff, who was one of the most distinguished men of his time, and was made grand Standard-Bearer of England by Edward IV.

The Stradlings, again, traced their descent, in unbroken succession, from Sir William le Esterling, (which name became corrupted to Stradling,) one of the twelve Norman knights associated with Robert Fitzhamon, the cousin of William II. (Rufus), in the conquest of Glamorgan. As his share of the conquered district, Sir William le Esterling obtained the castle and manor of St. Donat's, with other extensive possessions. Sir Thomas Stradling, the last of the name, continued to reside at St. Donat's; but died, a childless man, at Montpellier, in France, on the 27th of September, 1738; and was buried at St. Donat's on the 19th of March, 1739.

David Mathew, Esq., of Llandaff, the father of Dorothy Morgan, was likewise the father of Brigadier-General Edward Mathews, and the grand-father of the

well known Admiral Mathews, who was thus the first cousin of David Morgan. Admiral Mathews contested the county of Glamorgan with Sir Charles Kemys Tynte, of Cefen Mabley, and was elected by a majority of 47. The election was held at Cardiff, and commenced on the 2nd of January, 1744, the poll extending over *nine days*.

Though possessed of no proof that such was the case, I strongly suspect that the father of David Morgan acquired Penygraig by his marriage to Dorothy Mathews. But I have not been able to learn whether he ever resided there, nor where his son was born, though the period of his birth must have been 1695, or 1696. His father, being the second son, would naturally have removed from Coed-y-gorres after his marriage; and it is probable that Penygraig became his residence. Where David was educated does not appear; but it is clear that he received a liberal education.

Having studied law, and passed through the prescribed formalities, he was, in regular course, called to the bar. But the author of the "Genuine Account," whether truly or not cannot be clearly known, states that "not making a shining figure there, he retired into the country, and, after his father's death, lived chiefly on his estate." He was, however, well known in the Courts, and had frequently practised at Westminster, and elsewhere; though there is reason to suspect that he never devoted himself very assiduously to the law, and that his predilections, at one period, lay more in a military direction. In the speech which he made at his trial, when referring to the evidence that showed him to have been the confidential adviser of the Pretender, and his being designated the "Pretender's Counsellor," he remarked, "as to my capacity as one bred to the law, I confess that I never pretended to much knowledge that way, and therefore was a very improper person to counsel the chief of the rebels, for my advice could be of little value to him"⁵

From the same source, combined with the fact of his

⁵ Howell's State Trials, vol. xviii.

readiness to join the army of the Pretender, I draw the inference of his military tendencies; for, he further observes, that he had "served the Crown of England in two campaigns with some reputation."⁶ But no further information has been obtained with respect to his movements and proceedings, while engaged with the army, beyond the fact that he was frequently addressed as "Captain" Morgan.

He likewise appears to have taken rather an active share in the political discussions of the day, and to have been a prominent member of the club of independent electors of Westminster; for I learn that, after his execution, two pamphlets where published on the assumed appearance of his ghost at the club. Nor did he confine himself to political questions, for poetry and polemics were somewhat incongruously blended in his studies. Horace Walpole speaks of him as "Morgan, a poetical lawyer;"⁷ and it will be remembered that in the paper delivered to the sheriffs at the execution, he states, "this my faith I have fully set forth in a poem of two books, entitled, 'THE CHRISTIAN TEST OR THE COALITION OF FAITH AND REASON,' the first of which I have already published, and the latter I have bequeathed to the care of my unfortunate but dutiful daughter, Mistress Mary Morgan, to be published by her, since it has pleased God I shall not live to see it."

In addition to his estate in Wales, he possessed some valuable leasehold property in St. Leonard's, Shoreditch, which, most probably, was acquired by his marriage; for his wife, whose maiden name I have not succeeded in ascertaining, was a London lady. It is not clear whether he left more than one child living at his death; for though he refers to his daughter Mary Morgan only, in the pedigree of Mathews, of Llandaff,⁸ his daughter and

⁶ Howell's State Trials, vol. xviii.

⁷ Letters of Horace Walpole, Earl of Oxford, to Sir Horace Mann, vol. ii. p. 166.

⁸ MSS. of Sir Isaac Heard, privately printed by Sir Thomas Phillipps, Bart.

heiress is designated "Jane," which, most probably, was an error, and the name should have been "Mary." This lady had died unmarried prior to the year 1798, (but how long previously I am unable to determine,) and her estates in the county of Glamorgan were, at that date, held in trust for John William, son of John Chittingden, of Tooting, Surrey, who was then only three years of age, as her heir-at-law, and co-heir with William Morgan Thomas,⁹ of Llanedern, in the county of Glamorgan, whose age was then twenty-two years. It thus appears probable that the property of Morgan either escaped confiscation, or was restored to his daughter on the passing of the act for the restoration of the forfeited estates.

It has already been stated that Penygraig¹ is now an ordinary Welsh farm-house; and Coed-y-gorres² has long been reduced to the same condition; while their connection with David Morgan, and the recollection of his tragical fate, are only retained in a few shadowy traditions that are rapidly fading out of remembrance.

Glanwern, Pontypool,
Dec., 1861.

⁹ Ann, the third daughter of William Morgan, Esq., of Coed-y-gorres, (who died in 1762,) married John Thomas, of Fyn Fynon, in the parish of Llanedern, Glamorganshire, and had one son, William Morgan Thomas. The representatives of this gentleman appear to have subsequently resided at a place called Llanarthan, in the parish of St. Mellon's, Monmouthshire; and some of them were very recently living.

¹ I have been informed that after Morgan's death this place came into the possession of Mathews, of Llandaff, and was sold by a member of that family to an ancestor of the present Colonel William Mark Wood, who now owns it. And this seems very probable, as I find that Penycoed, in Monmouthshire, now the seat of the Morgans, having been purchased by Admiral Mathews, was sold, about the year 1800, by his grandson, John Mathews, Esq., to Colonel Wood of Piercefield; and Penygraig may have been disposed of at the same time.

² Coed-y-gorres is now the property of the son of the late Rev. Windsor Richards, Rector of St. Andrew's, and of St. Lythen's, in the county of Glamorgan; but how acquired I am not able to show.

PEDIGREE OF DAVID MORGAN, ESQUIRE, BARRISTER-AT-LAW.

Treharne Thomas ap Blethyn, of Lanedern, Gent. = Malt, d. and h. of Morgan Jenkin Bevan Meirick, of Coed-y-gorres.

1st Wife. = Sir Thomas Morgan, of Pencoeed, Knt. = Widow of Powell.

James Morgan = Malt, d. and h.

Morgan James, of Coed-y-gorres, Gent. = Maud, d. to Watkin William David ap Gwylm Jenkin Herbert, of Gwern Ddu.

William Morgan James, of Coed-y-gorres, Gent. = Catherine, d. and coheirress to Lewis ap Rees ap Morgan Prees Yychan, of Lancelach Yssa.

William, o. s. p.

Catherine, d. and h. = John, great-grandson to Sir Thomas Gamage, of Coyty, Knt.

Thomas Morgan, of Coed-y-gorres, Gent., baptised 1st Jan. 1609 = Margaret, d. to Evan Thomas Bevan Meirick, of Eglwysilan, Gent.

William Morgan, Gent. = M. Elizabeth, d. to Watkin
heir of Coed-y-gorres in the year 1678 Thomas, Gent.

David Mathew = Joan, d. of Sir Edmund Stradling,
of Llandaff, Esq., 1678 of St. Donat's, Bart.

William Morgan = Elizabeth, d. to Henry Probert, of the Argoed,
of Coed-y-gorres in Penalt, Esq.

Thomas Morgan, second son, of Coed-y-gorres = Dorothy
and two other sons, and five daughters

David, Barrister = d. of of London.
executed on Kennington Common, 1746

Mary (?) d. and h.
o. s. p.

THE TRADITIONARY ANNALS OF THE CYMRY.

CHAPTER XXXI.

THE CIVIL ARTS.—PLEADING.

THE office of an advocate (*pleidyddiaeth*) in ancient times was very similar to that of a barrister, or councillor learned in the law, in our own days; that is, to plead the cause of another in a court of justice. We have no means of determining the exact time at which pleading originated as part of British law; but it clearly appears as such in the Moelmutian Code, where it is mentioned, moreover, as a distinct profession, having peculiar duties, and endowed with certain civil rights.

“There are three branches of literature: to wit, a law advocate, who shall be an advocate between a Cymro and an alien ignorant of the language . . . and each one of these three has the privilege of his five free acres under the privilege and protection of his art, independently of what he shall obtain by the privilege of an innate Cymro; and he is a man of court, of country, and lord, and to be at the will of the court, and its judges, and its justices, during the days of the court and session, according to the regulation of law; and, for the instruction he shall impart, maintenance and gifts are due separately according to agreement.”¹

It is here stated that the pleader was to be “an advocate between a Cymro and an alien ignorant of the language;” but we must not suppose that this covers the whole extent of his functions. Elsewhere in the same code, we are told that he was also to take up the cause of a woman, and one born dumb.

“Three persons for whom the King, or the lord of the court, is to assign advocates in the court: a woman, or female; one that is naturally mute; and an alien ignorant of the language.”²

Similar is the provision made in the Laws of Howel Dda, from which we infer that little or no alteration was effected in the matter of pleading by the legislator of the tenth century.

¹ Ancient Laws and Institutes of Wales, v. ii. p. 512.

² Ibid. pp. 550–552.

"Three persons are entitled to an advocate on their behalf from the King: a woman; an alien unacquainted with the language; and one with a natural impediment of speech: one person, however, is to choose the advocate; that is, the lord; and he is to compel the advocates to act."³

We may, therefore, be permitted to take from this later code some clauses which may illustrate further the nature and character of the art of advocacy, as it was practised within the period of our annals.

In the first place, then, we learn that an advocate was not to practise without a knowledge of law; for

"Whoever shall not know the practice of law cannot practise the law."⁴

Anyone who liked might have an advocate to plead his cause, but under the circumstances he himself was obliged to be silent, and to trust implicitly to his pleader, who alone was responsible for the manner of conducting the case.

"Whoever may like better to have another to plead for him in the court than himself has permission to be silent, without pleading anything, whilst he may will to employ the advocate.

"Whoever may will to prove a fault in a cause against the employer of an advocate is to testify against the advocate, for no fault can be proved against the employer; since there is permission for him, by law, to be silent during the whole cause."⁵

Where there was a guarantor, who was to answer "for the defendant in respect to the property," he was considered sufficient, and no other advocate was allowed.

"Whoever shall obtain a guarantor in a cause is to have no other advocate than the guarantor in that cause; for the guarantor ought to answer for them both; since there is no guarantee, other than a defence, that will release."⁶

In two other cases also an advocate was inadmissible.

"Three things in which an advocate is not to plead for another person: one is, giving a pledge against judgment; the second is, to plead for another person's guarantor; the third is, to plead for a person in peril of life, and body, and limbs."⁷

³ Ancient Laws and Institutes of Wales, v. i. p. 446.

⁴ Ibid. p. 592.

⁶ Ibid. p. 482.

⁵ Ibid. pp. 482-484.

⁷ Ibid. vol. ii. p. 388.

An advocate had power to object to witnesses for certain causes personal to himself, or to his client.

"Witnesses are to be objected to as the advocate may choose, either for *galanas*⁸ on his own part, or for *galanas* on the part of his employer; for the testimony is against them both."⁹

The precepts for his behaviour in court are curious.

"Three things which a pleader, or an advocate, is to do: to speak in a moderate tone, so that he may not be too loud, nor too low, lest he should offend; for Aristotle says, that the intermediate ought to be chosen: it is not right for anybody, in seeking his errand, to offend the person of whom the errand is to be obtained; nor his judge; for he who is to listen will not be pleased with what shall be spoken to him adverse to his feeling: and, therefore, Solomon says, Speak not unless thou art listened to: the second thing which he ought to study is, that he be not passionâte over much, nor too conceited, and that he be not overbearing, nor too loquacious, nor over serious, nor over merry, nor too frowning, nor too much given to laugh. . . ."¹

The third particular has been lost, owing to the damaged state of the manuscript in which the Triad occurred.

Further, he was not to leave his place in court as long as the judges remained; nor could he sit, rise, or speak, except by permission of the judge.

"A pleader is not to leave his place, and if he do, he loses the extent of his claim; there is no other punishment for him but through consent: he may rise on his knee if there be need."²

"The advocates may rise when the judges go to consult, and return when they do."³

"Neither pleader, nor guider, nor claimant, nor defendant, is to sit, or rise, or speak, until the judge shall permit him; and they must be silent when he shall require under pain of punishment."⁴

If an advocate died before the termination of the suit, "the judge could appoint another in his stead."⁵

An advocate was sometimes called *tavodiog*, tongued,

⁸ Homicide. This term is often applied to the sum assessed upon the criminal and his relatives as the retribution for murder, as well as for the crime itself.

⁹ Ancient Laws, v. i. p. 484.

¹ Ibid. v. ii. p. 646.

² Ibid. p. 734.

³ Ibid. p. 732.

⁴ Ibid. p. 734.

⁵ Ibid. p. 732.

and sometimes *cynglaws*, co-nexate. There was also a guider, *canllaw*, who seems to have performed the duties of a procurator, or attorney.

CHAPTER XXXII.

THE CIVIL ARTS—PHILOLOGY.

WE have already shown how the language of the Cymry was supposed to have originated, and with what care and diligence it was subsequently cultivated until the time of Beli Mawr.¹ It would appear that it constituted the sole language of the island, until a little before the time of Prydain, when the Lloegrwys and Brython introduced dialects varying in some degree, but not, we have reason to suppose, so as to render themselves unintelligible to a native Cymro, or to cause any confusion in the great parliament of the nation. Still these dialects had their peculiar and distinctive character, such, for instance, as the employment of the aspirate *s* by the Lloegrwys, when the Cymry used *h*, and this circumstance of itself would naturally turn the attention of the latter people to the study of philology (*ieithyddiaeth*). A greater inducement would be found in their commercial transactions with the Phœnicians, who are supposed to have visited our shores as early, at least, as the era of the Trojan war.² The language of that people would be perfectly unintelligible to the original inhabitants, and there is as much reason to think that the latter would try to learn it, as that the Phœnician traders would endeavour to master the Cymraeg. Both people were equally interested in any plan that would enable them to interchange their thoughts. The same may be said in reference to the Greeks at a later period.

In the interval between the time of Prydain and that of Dyvnwal Moelmud, three colonies, consisting respectively of the Celyddon, the Gwyddyl, and the men of Galedin,

¹ Antea, Chapter XXVII.

² See Chapters IV. XXVI.

arrived and settled in the island by permission of the Cymry, who suffered them further, on the fulfilment of certain conditions, to inherit land, and to enjoy other social rights.³ Supposing, as is probable, that they were all of Celtic origin, and bore some distant relation to the Cymry, still owing to their long separation from the insular branch, and their intercourse with strange races on the continent, their language must have acquired a character that was in many respects alien to the Cymraeg. It was provided, however, by the process of naturalization, that this difference should be almost eliminated, for it was necessary that there should be four successive contracts of marriage with native women, and that there should be male issue in each case, ere any one could become a member of the body politic.⁴ By the time when such an event occurred, it is reasonable to infer that the lingual peculiarities, introduced by "the refuge-seeking tribes," would have all but disappeared, so that no confusion or difficulty would ensue on that account in the conventional session of the confederate states.

This sameness of language is laid down in the Laws of Dyvnwal Moelmud as being indispensable to the common government of a country.

"Three mutual ties of a federate community; *identity of language*; identity of judicature; and identity of privilege: and without these there cannot be a powerful federate community."⁵

"Three things that constitute a country: relatives; *language*; and privileges: and they are called the three mutual bonds of a country."⁶

"Three things without which there is no country: *common language*; common judicature; and co-tillage land: for without these a country cannot support itself in peace and social union."⁷

Still, as we have seen,⁸ if an alien, or any one unacquainted with the language, became amenable to the

³ See Chapter VII.

⁴ "It was decreed that they should not enjoy the immunities of the native Cymry before the ninth generation." (Triad 6, Third Series.) The mode of reckoning the nine degrees is laid down in Chapter VII.

⁵ Welsh Laws and Institutes, vol. ii. p. 490.

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ Chapter XXXI.

law of the land, the government provided him with an interpreter, so that his ignorance of Cymraeg should be no bar to his obtaining justice in suits at law. Such an advocate was the *tavodiog*, (tongued,) a term which might imply not merely one able and qualified to speak in defence of another, but also one that could understand and speak the language of his client.

The "law advocate" was a branch of literature, and had "the privilege of his five free acres under the privilege and protection of his art, independently of what he obtained by the privilege of an inmate Cymro." The other two branches were the "symbol bard," and one who was "informed in book and letter," both of whom were entitled to the same rights respectively as the first.⁹ As philology is not expressly mentioned in the Moelmutian Code, we may perhaps consider it as included in the general term of "literature," and put in practice under one or the other of its branches as circumstances required.

The knowledge of languages, being thus an art encouraged by the commonwealth, would be regarded as an indispensable requisite in ambassadors who were sent on diplomatic business to foreign courts, and also in heralds, who proclaimed war, or arranged terms of peace between the home government and neighbouring or foreign nations.

This circumstance makes clear the point, of which historians in general have not been able to satisfy themselves, namely, in what language the Ancient Britons addressed themselves to those nations with whom, for whatever purpose, they came in contact. We must believe that the terms of peace entered into by Casswallawn and Julius Cæsar were proposed and received through the medium of the Latin language, and that Caradog made use of the same tongue to deliver his celebrated oration in the imperial city, which so touched the heart of Claudius as to restore him immediately to freedom.

⁹ Welsh Laws and Institutes, vol. ii. p. 512.

CORRESPONDENCE.

THE GREAL.

To the Editor of the Cambrian Journal.

SIR,—In the Catalogue of the Hengwrt MSS., printed in the *Cambrian Journal* for December, 1859, p. 276, is the following entry:—"No. 49.—Y Greal, the Exploits of Arthur and his Warriors, written in the sixth year of Henry I., in a beautiful hand." In the Preface to the Volume for 1859, inserted in the same Number, this statement is repeated from the Hengwrt Catalogue, viz., that "Y Greal" is a MS. of the sixth year of Henry the First. This would make the date of the MS. about A.D. 1107, an impossible date for any history of the adventures of Arthur and his knights in search of the San Greal. On turning to the "Catalogue of the Hengwrt MSS." published by Edward Lhuyd in the *Archæologia Britannica*, we find the true date to be the fifteenth century. Lhuyd's words are,—*"Codex scripturâ elegantiori tempore H. 6."* Henry the Sixth's reign comprises from A.D. 1422–1461, and Lhuyd's statement is evidently the correct one. Whether the mistake is due to Aneurin Owen, or is only a misprint, it is very desirable it should be noticed and corrected, as it is not improbable the *Cambrian Journal* may be cited as authority for the existence (unfortunately no longer in existence) of a MS. of the Greal of the early part of the twelfth century.

I remain, &c.,

D. W. NASH.

Cheltenham, Sept. 17, 1861.

[The mistake arose from Aneurin Owen, who compiled the list which we transferred to our pages, and whose authority we inadvertently followed in the Preface alluded to. In a note which occurs in one of the Iolo volumes, the authorship of the Greal is attributed to "Thomas ap Einion, the priest," who flourished in the fourteenth century.—ED. CAMB. JOUR.]

WYNNE'S HISTORY OF WALES.

To the Editor of the Cambrian Journal.

SIR,—Who was this author? All the account given of him in the title-page is simply, "W. Wynne, A.M., Fellow of Jesus College, Oxon." Carnhuanawc, in his *Hanes Cymru*, acknowledges his inability to make him out, and there is no mention of him in Williams's *Eminent Welshmen*. In a "Catalogue of Ancient Books," recently issued by "Thomas Kerslake, Bristol," I find the book in question advertised thus:—

"The History of Wales, from Cadwalader to Llewelyn. And

under the Kings of England. Written in British by Caradoc of Lhancarvan; and formerly published in English by Dr. Powel. Now augmented by W. Wynne [of Garthowin], 1697. 8vo., calf, 7s."

He is here represented as one of the Wynnes of Garthewin, but what authority had Kerslake for his bracketed assertion?

I remain, &c.,

MEIRION.

A WELSH GUIDE.

To the Editor of the Cambrian Journal.

SIR,—There is hardly a parish in Wales that is not full of associations, historical and legendary. Why should we then not have a complete "Guide," that will notice and record all these ere they fall into oblivion? Such a work, judiciously executed, would be most valuable, and sure to sell. Nor would it be very difficult to accomplish. Let two Editors be appointed; and let these draw up a circular of queries, embracing genealogical, historical, archæological, and legendary, and send one to every parish priest in the Principality, with a request that he would return full answers to as many of the questions as possible, or transfer it to some one of his parishioners who has made such matters more especially his study. There is no doubt that a novel and taking work would be the result.

I remain, &c.,

PILGRIM.

AN ANCIENT BRITISH CANOE.

To the Editor of the Cambrian Journal.

SIR,—As many interesting ancient remains are no doubt frequently found in Wales, and left to perish irretrievably without a record—either through carelessness or ignorance—to the great detriment of archæological knowledge on the subject, perhaps you would allow me to trespass upon the pages of the *Cambrian Journal* with a short description of an *ancient British canoe*, which was found at Llyn Llydaw, one of the highest lakes on the flanks of Snowdon, near Beddgelert, and which I was fortunate enough to save from total destruction.

I happened to be speaking at Beddgelert, one day, to one of the miners engaged at a copper mine near Llyn Llydaw, when he casually mentioned (knowing that I was fond of *hen bethau*) that something very like an old boat had been discovered imbedded in the mud of the lake. I immediately conjectured that it might be an ancient canoe, and fortunately went at once up the mountain to see it. I was just in time to save a portion of a beautiful specimen of an ancient canoe, as the miners were *busy cutting it up for firewood*! (It being then mid-winter, and very cold at that elevation.) They had already split it up longitudinally, and *burnt* one side, with a portion of the bottom.

The whole of one side, and a little more than half of the bottom

remained, and was very perfect. This I immediately secured from further Vandalism by paying the men handsomely for carrying it down for me to Beddgelert.

The canoe was hollowed out of one solid piece of *oak*, and when first found must have been in a beautiful state of preservation. It was about 10 feet long, by $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet or 3 feet wide; the bow and stern were higher than the middle, bows rounded, and the stern square, with a flat bottom. There are also two holes in the stern, evidently for a warp.

In the immediate neighbourhood of Llyn Llydaw, on the farm of Cwm Dyli, there exist *very considerable* remains of so called Cyttiau 'r Gwyddelod, which now go by the name of Muna 'r dre (not marked in the Ordnance map). I have in my possession some *stone* implements found in this place, celts, flint arrow-heads, and a *stone gouge*; and, in excavating one of these foundations, I came to a quantity of slag, the refuse from smelting copper ore. Whether this slag is coeval with the earliest occupation of these ancient remains, or whether the house was used subsequently for smelting operations, it would be hard to say; at any rate, it is not too much to suppose that this ancient canoe belonged to the primitive inhabitants of Gwynedd, who lived in these very identical circular habitations, and who used the stone battle-axes, arrow-heads, &c., I spoke of above.

This canoe is particularly interesting to Welsh antiquaries, as it is, I believe, the only one found in Wales. It is now at the Society of Antiquaries, Somerset House, where it has been exhibited.—I remain, &c.,

G. GRIFFITH.

Taltreuddyn, near Barmouth.

To the Editor of the Cambrian Journal.

SIR,—I have to ask you for space for two or three lines to reply to the worthy Baronet, Sir Thomas Phillipps.

He says, that if I only was able to say that I had a knowledge of Welsh literature, he would call me a worthy Welshman. But his remark is a supererogatory one, for I had already spoken of myself as being only of Welsh descent; and even if it had been otherwise, the knowledge of a language does not, *per se*, convey worthiness, or even nationality, as, *e. g.*, in the case of Prince Lucien Bonaparte. So, again, he says that in his original letter the name of Stourton does not occur at all. It is true that it does not; but for that very reason it would only have been natural, I should have thought, to have concluded that I could not have written the word so, but that it must have been a mistake of the printer's for the name De Staunton, which does occur. Lastly, on the main point of my letter, he says that he had spoken of the families referred to as "Norman settlers in Wales." This, I see, is quite correct; but what I had remarked on was, that he had previously spoken of them as "*Welsh names*," and had headed the letter with the title of "*Welsh Families in Ireland*."—I remain, &c.,

AP MORRIS.

REVIEWS.

THE PHYSICIANS OF MYDDVAI; Meddygon Myddfai, or the Medical Practice of the celebrated Rhiwallon and his Sons, of Myddvai, in Caermarthenshire, Physicians to Rhys Gryg, Lord of Dynevor and Ystrad Towy, about the middle of the Thirteenth Century. Translated by JOHN PUGHE, Esq., F.R.C.S., of Penhelig, Aberdovey, and Edited by the Rev. JOHN WILLIAMS ab Ithel, M.A., Rector of Llanymowddwy. Published for the Welsh MSS. Society. Llandovery: D. J. Roderic. London: Longman & Co. 1861.

This is the sixth work published under the auspices of the Welsh MSS. Society; and we doubt not that its appearance will be hailed with delight by all who admire the curious relics of Cymric literature. It consists of two parts. The first is simply entitled "the Physicians of Myddvai," and is from a manuscript in the Red Book of Hergest, now in Jesus College, Oxford, carefully collated by the Rev. Robert Owen, B.D., Fellow of the said College, with a transcript made by the late Mr. Saunders, from Mr. Rees of Tonn's copy; which manuscript was, moreover, copied about 1766, by William Bona, of Llanpumpsant, from another belonging to Iago ap Dewi, of Llanllawddog. The second portion purports to have been compiled by Howel the Physician, son of Rhys, son of Llewelyn, son of Philip, the Physician, a lineal descendant of Einion, the son of Rhiwallon, from the Books of the first Physicians of Myddvai. William Bona made a transcript from the book of John Jones, Physician of Myddvai, the last lineal descendant of the family, A.D. 1743. The late Iolo Morganwg took a copy of this MS. in 1801; and it is his copy, we are told, now in Llanover Library, that forms the text of this part of the volume.

The Society was fortunate in meeting with a translator who was himself a medical man, as well as a Welsh scholar; for a work of this kind could not be well done by any other person. We believe that Mr. Pughe has performed his task satisfactorily.

The preface is, of course, written by the Editor, who has in it briefly reviewed the progress of the medical art among the Cymry, from the earliest times to the era of the Physicians of Myddvai. There is also a very interesting legend prefixed to the work, which was collected from various sources by Mr. Rees, of Tonn, relative to the fairy origin (on the mother's side) of these Physicians; it is called "the legend of Llyn-van-vach," or "the Lady of the Lake."

Most of the prescriptions contained in this volume are of the same character as those which still lurk in nooks and corners of the land, having come down from father to son for several generations. No doubt they have a common origin, which may be traced higher than the era of Rhiwallon and his sons, for these persons were assuredly not the authors of the prescriptions before us, but merely the collectors or compliers. They, by means of their superior knowledge in the art of healing arranged, and perhaps in some respects improved, those medical traditions which confusedly floated about them. How far

these were founded on natural principles—what was in them, or in some of them, applicable to the diseases which they were intended to heal—we are not prepared to say. No doubt some of those scientific practitioners into whose hands the book may fall, will be able to ascertain that they are not altogether void of the elements of truth; and that, in that respect, they are not to be treated wholly as matters of mere curiosity; though of course much inferior in importance to those discoveries in medicine which modern science has made.

CELTIC INSCRIPTIONS ON GAULISH AND BRITISH COINS; with a Glossary of the Archaic Celtic words, and an Atlas of Coins. By BEALE POSTE. London: J. Russell Smith. 1861.

Mr. Beale Poste has done much towards removing the thick mist of prejudice which numismatists have allowed for such a length of time to obscure their mental vision on the subject of British coins. A few years ago we had occasion to review his learned and clever dissertation on *The Coins of Cunobeline and of the Ancient Britons*, and though we could not then endorse and accept all his conclusions, still we freely expressed our approbation of the general merits of the work. We feel similarly impressed with regard to the present volume, which, by-the-bye, we find is very fitly dedicated to Viscount de la Villemarqué, to whom Celtic literature is under deep obligations. It consists of twelve chapters. The 1st treats of Gaulish, British, and Pannonian coinages. The 2nd and 3rd of Gaulish coinage alone. In the 4th we are presented with a description of the general style of the inscriptions of Cunobeline, and of those of the Iceni and of the southern Belgæ. The 5th chapter treats of Ancient British Coins as objects of art. The 6th of the inscription TASCIO FIRBOLG on Cunobeline's coins. In the 7th we have proofs that the ancient southern Belgæ of Britain formed a republic. The 8th is on controversies respecting the ancient British coinage. The 9th on causes why the Celtic inscriptions on ancient British coins have been but little used by historical writers. In the 10th there is an attempt to classify British coins. The 11th contains a glossary of archaic Celtic words, now mostly out of use, to illustrate Celtic inscriptions on Gaulish and British coins. The heading of the last chapter is "Miscellanea." This is followed by a very copious index; and the whole is concluded with an atlas of ancient British coins.

The enumeration of these subjects will give our readers an idea of the wide and varied field which occupied the attention and skill of Mr. Beale Poste, when he was engaged on the volume before us. And we beg to testify that, in his treatment of the several particulars, he has displayed much learning and research, which cannot but be appreciated by those even who differ from him in many of his views and deductions. He is evidently in search of the truth; and, as he applies to his subject a mind unbiassed, and free from the trammels of prejudice, the result of his labours will, we doubt not, be extensively referred to by future numismatists on matters connected with the ancient coinage of Britain.

As inscriptions on coins are necessarily brief, it is extremely difficult
CAMB. JOUR., 1861. 2 Y

to read them aright, unless there be several of the same class, having the legend somewhat varied, which, by mutual comparison may thus aid in fixing the true meaning. Such a variation does fortunately exist, and our author has not been slow in adopting the process which it suggests. Whether the discovery of more coins will be the means of causing him to alter or modify his present interpretation, is of course beyond our ability to predict. It is, however, of importance that the collection should be as numerous and as complete as possible; and we trust, therefore, that all into whose hands any native coins of ancient date may fall, will prove careful of their preservation, and communicate relative to them with those who have made British numismatics their especial study. We know of none that we could rely upon in a matter of this kind more fully than the author of this book. Our only fear is that he may not be sufficiently acquainted with the Ancient dialects of Britain. This is a qualification in any writer on British coins that cannot be dispensed with. Our knowledge of the Cymric language enables us, in some measure, to test the ability of Mr. Beale Poste, in respect especially of those coins which passed current in the more western portions of the island. And here we boldly say that he is partly right and partly wrong. He is right in supposing *o* to have been the ancient form of the Celtic definite article; *u*, *v*, *y*, are but modifications of that vowel, introduced at later periods; and whenever these letters occur in inscriptions, particularly the two last, we may reasonably suspect that such are not of a very remote antiquity,—for instance, *Pwl*, which no doubt was originally *Pol*. He is right, also, as to the meaning of *a*, *at*, *boduoc*, *brenhin*, but not *Bran*, *bro*, *bryer*, *cadr*, *cae*, *Camulus*, *cor*, *dur*, *hir*, *mar*, *mor*, *pedwar*, *ren*, *rhain*, and *rhon*, *rex*, *rix*, and *reixs*, *uch*, and probably some others, the meaning of which, however, is not so obvious. There was no occasion for Mr. Beale Poste to go to the Teutonic language for the meaning of *ac*, *ax*, or *ach*. This root is to be found equally in the Cymric dialect, where it signifies *a source*, *a stock*, or *a lineage*; and SEGONAX might thus mean either the chief or the tribe of Segont. *Ach* is used to this very day to denote a feminine offspring, and is equivalent to *merch*, as *ab* is to *son*. The *coxos* in *Argentocoxos* is not improbably *coch*, red=Rufus, the Ancient Britons being often distinguished by their complexion, the colour of their hair, or some other personal characteristic, as *Iolo Goch*, *Ithel Velyn*. *Cant* does not denote an angular projection or division of any superficial surface; it simply means a circumference, and in a secondary sense, a hundred, which is a complete cycle of numbers. When applied to any portion of land or territory, it has reference to number, as *cant trev*, a hundred towns, descriptive of the division. CANTORIX is undoubtedly *Cant y rhi*, according to the present orthography of the Welsh, and may mean either “the king of a hundred,” or king of the Cantii—most likely the latter. CARAC-TACUS, or more properly *Caradog*, which is the Cymric form, we take to be only the adjective of *Caered*, from *Caer*, a fortress, and signifying one who is “like a fortress”—a tower of strength. *Gwarch-eidnad-mann-dwta* will never do as the modern reading of CARTIS-MANDUA. We do not intend, however, to suggest a better one,

though we have no doubt as to the first syllable being the same as *Caer*. Perhaps also *mann* means a country, as Mr. Beale Poste has it. C does not in modern orthography assume the form of *gu*; this, indeed, is the representative of *v*. Hence our author, instead of deriving CARVILLIUS from *guayr* for *guanar*, a noble, and *illil* for *eppill*, offspring, would have done less violence to the word if he had derived it from *caer*, a fortress, and *gwil*, a watch, or *gwill*, a rover. *Cys-am-bos* would have come nearer in form to CISIAMBOS than *Cyssefin-am-bos*, and answered the purpose quite as well. The exclamation put into the mouth of the Gaul, when Cæsar was being pursued, as we have seen it, is written "Ketos Kaiser," that is, *Cedwch Caisar*, detain Cæsar, or *Gedwch Caisar*, let Cæsar go. We can hardly think that he would have styled the Latin captain a priest; and on that account we prefer the above reading to that of "Ke Cos Kaiser," adopted by Mr. Beale Poste. There is no doubt an affinity between CUNO and *konig*, a king; *cun* is frequently used in Welsh to denote a chief, or leader. CYNGETORIX is *Cynged y rhi*, Cynged the king, or the king of the Cangi. Would not *Dynnwyl*, a well-known British name, be the modern form of DUBNO VELLAUNOS? the meaning would still be "the king of the Dobuni," as our author has it. DVNNOBRO may be either *Dwnn vro*, the deep district or *Dubno bro*, the territory of Dubno. *Man* is a spot or a place; it was originally written *ban*, which now means a high place. NEMET is no doubt the Cymric *Nyfed*, a pure or holy nature, sanctity. It is still used in connection with the Deity, or heaven. NEMETES, in our orthography, would be *Nyfedwys*, a holy people. We may presume that the words which begin with *s* belonged more especially to the Belgic or Gaelic tribes; the Cymry preferred the letter *h*. VER might be either *gwir*, truth, or *gwr*, a man; it cannot be *mawr*, great, as at that time there was no mutation of consonants. VIRIDOMARUS is probably nothing but *Gweirydd mawr*, Gweirydd the great. *Vlatos* is, no doubt, *gwlad*, a country.

In our review of "The Coins of Cunobeline, and of the Ancient Britons," we expressed an opinion that the legend TINC, which is observable on some British coins, was nothing but the *tunc* of our ancient laws. It was variously written *tung*, *tvng*, *twng*, and *tunc*, and meant a plight, or oath, being the homage-money due from each free tenant to the lord in default of providing the stipulated supplies in kind. This ancient source of feudal revenue, upon the annexation of Wales, vested in the English crown, and is still collected in some parts of North Wales, under the name of "tunc-rent." We are still of the same opinion; nor does the expansion of the word into TINCON make any difference in the matter, *on* being merely a termination, for the most part of the plural number. We really think that Mr. Beale Poste ought to adopt this interpretation, as well as that which we suggested in reference to the legend TASC, TASCIO, and TASCIOVANI.

But however we may differ as to the meaning of some of the inscriptions which are enumerated by Mr. Beale Poste, we most strongly recommend the work, not only to the notice of Welshmen, but also of all who take any interest in numismatics.

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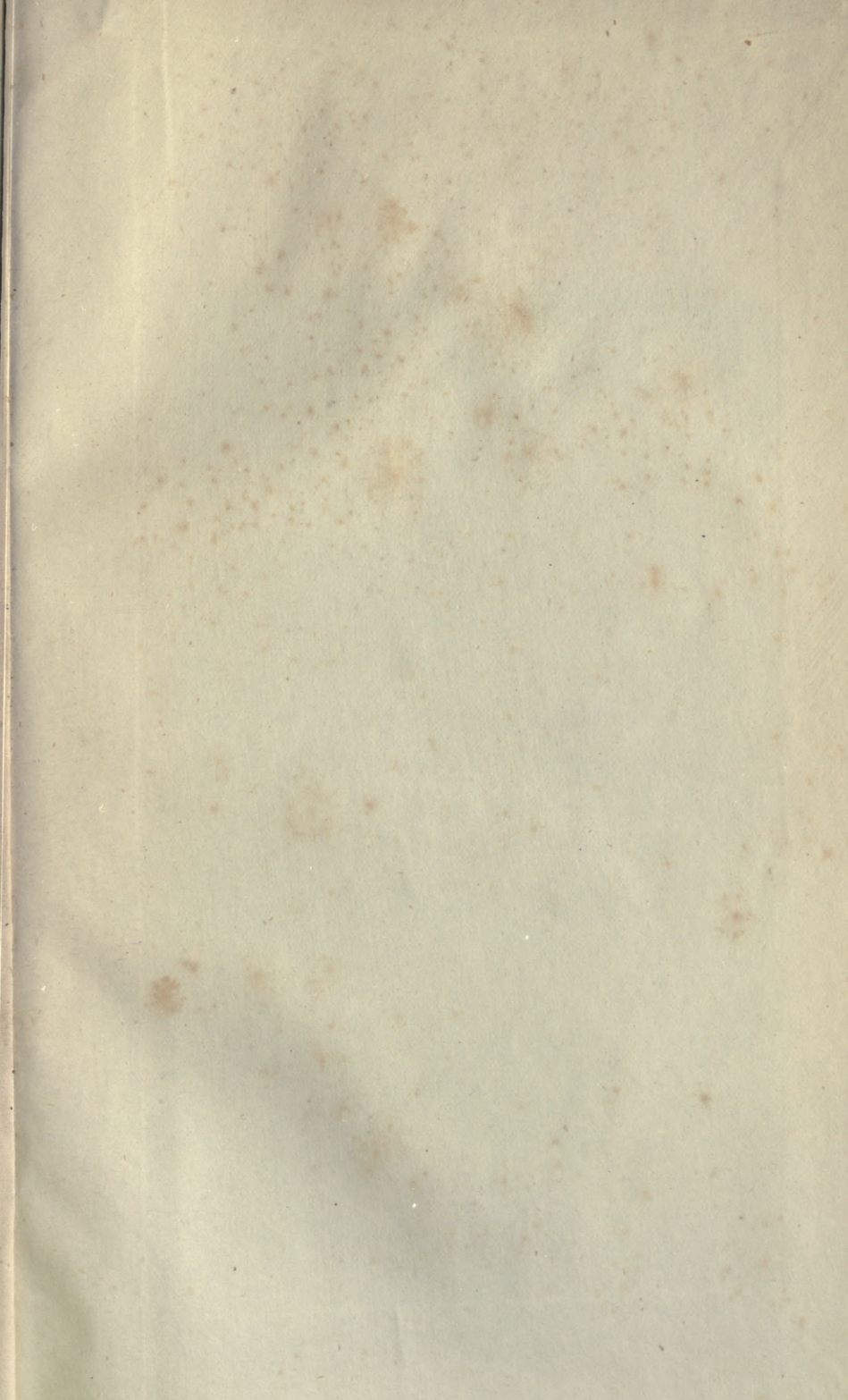
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